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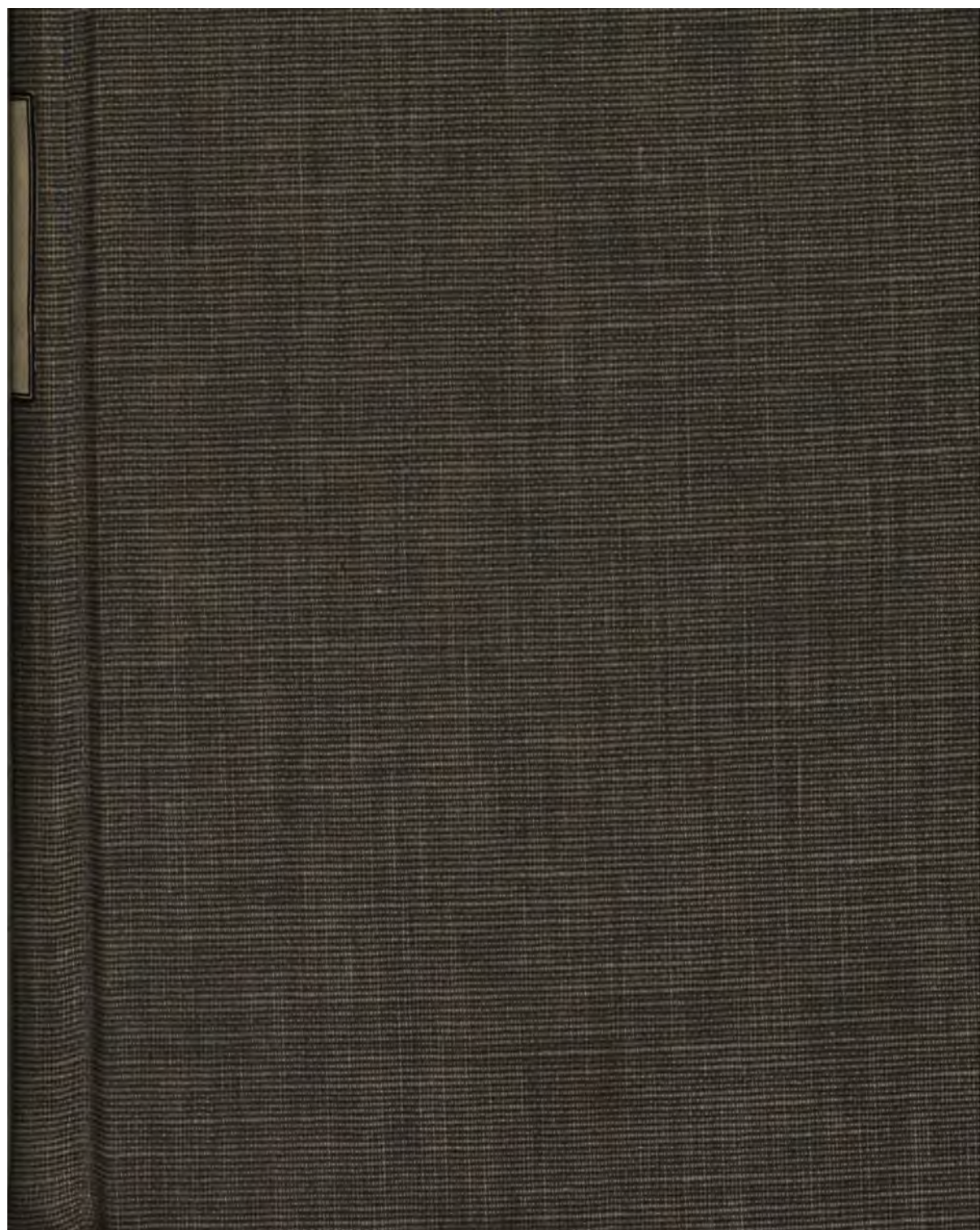
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Viscount Cranbrook 1883

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GATHORNE HARDY

FIRST EARL OF CRANBROOK

A MEMOIR

WITH EXTRACTS
FROM HIS DIARY AND CORRESPONDENCE

EDITED BY THE HON.
ALFRED E. GATHORNE-HARDY

WITH PORTRAITS AND OTHER ILLUSTRATIONS

TWO VOLS.—VOL. I.

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.

39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON
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1910

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*Gift of
William Endicott, Jr.
(2 vols)*

TO
KATIE

PREFACE

A FEW LINES only are required, as I fully explain in my introduction the nature of the material I have had at my disposal, and the circumstances in which I found myself placed. One point, however, I wish to make quite clear, namely, that where the letter *D* appears it means an extract from my father's diary, and the letter *S* means an extract from the summary of the earlier parts of it, which he made between 1882 and 1895.

It merely remains for me to express my gratitude to those who have kindly assisted me in my difficult task. My first duty is to thank His Majesty the King for having been graciously pleased to sanction the publication of several letters of Her late Majesty Queen Victoria, and extracts from the diary containing accounts of interviews between her and my father.

I wish specially to mention my father's two distinguished colleagues, Viscount Cross and Viscount Knutsford, who have rendered me invaluable assistance by reading and commenting upon those portions of the diary which refer to the periods during which they served with him in the Cabinet. Sir George Trevelyan has also given me very welcome help.

For permission to publish letters I have to thank the Duke of Richmond and Gordon, the Marquis of Salisbury, the executors of the Earl of Beaconsfield, Earl Cairns, the Earls of Carnarvon, Mayo, Derby, Iddesleigh, Rosebery, and Shaftesbury, Lord Morley of Blackburn and Lord Wynford, Sir William Heathcote, Sir Robert Mowbray, Sir Horace Walpole, Lady Betty Balfour, Mr. J. A. Bright, Mr. Hoare, Mr. Money Penny, Miss Florence Nightingale, and Mr. W. F. D. Smith. I believe that I have asked for and obtained permission in all cases, but I ask pardon in advance if, in spite of every care, there should turn out to have been any accidental omission.

A. E. GATHORNE-HARDY.

DONNINGTON PRIORY:

February 1910.

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LIFE OF THE EARL OF CRANBROOK

INTRODUCTION

IT is no easy task to record within reasonable limits the events of a life of ninety-two years, of which upwards of thirty-two were spent in the service of the public. Gathorne Hardy, afterwards Viscount and Earl of Cranbrook, was born in the year 1814, a year before the battle of Waterloo; he was married a year after the accession of Queen Victoria; and he survived his Royal Mistress five years, passing peacefully away on the 30th day of October, 1906, in his ninety-third year. He held the offices of President of the Poor Law Board, Secretary of State for the Home Department, for War, and for India, and was twice President of the Council. He served under three Prime Ministers, Lord Derby, Mr. Disraeli, and Lord Salisbury, and it will be seen by those who have the patience to follow me through my long story that he had at different times the offer of nearly all the other posts in the Cabinet. I am sensible of the disadvantages under which a biographer labours in recording the history of a very near relative, but I shall avoid the pitfalls of undue praise or blame by allowing my father, as far as is possible, to tell his own story. In selecting the extracts from his diary which I lay before the public, I omit nothing out of consideration for his memory or reputation. If every word of the voluminous record were published the

public would note much that was trivial, much that was only of private and family interest, and a good deal of public matter of importance which his confidential relations with those responsible for the conduct of affairs give me at present no right to disclose, but I have reserved nothing which throws light on his career or character. I have endeavoured to draw the line between undue reserve and indiscreet revelation as fairly as possible, giving myself greater latitude when dealing with matters which have long since passed into history than when referring to more modern and recent political questions. His own discretion, which forbade him to note any details of Cabinet discussions even in a document reserved for his private use and kept under lock and key, has saved me from some difficulties. Sometimes the sentences are involved and the grammar careless, but in quoting I have not felt justified in altering his words, except by correcting the most obvious slips and omissions.

It has been, of course, impossible to attempt detailed accounts of his administrative career in each of the high offices which he filled. To give one illustration, there are three large volumes of letters written by him to Lord Lytton, the Governor-General, and other Indian officials, and a very large deed-box full of answers, all relating to his short tenure of the India Office. Lady Betty Balfour has given a most able account of the vexed questions of the period, in her volume on the Indian administration of her distinguished father. I shall not repeat the process—the barest outline sketch must suffice; and it is my purpose to dwell rather upon the personal sensations and motives of my father than to offer an apologia for any part of his official career. As time passes on, our judgment tends to become more charitable, even as to events and men round whom once the stormiest conflicts raged.

*Hi mōtus animorum, atque hæc certamina tanta,
Pulveris exigui jactu compressa quiescunt.*

And the battles stilled by the dust of death need not be

fought again. I am more anxious to prove that he always did his best than that he was always right.

A few words next as to the materials at my disposal. The backbone of my work is, of course, the Diary which my father kept from 1837 until within a few months of his death. It narrowly escaped destruction at his hands. In 1882 he began to summarise the contents briefly, with a view, as he writes in the first page of his condensed narrative, 'of having a short record of what occurred in various years; where I was, &c. It is for myself and may interest my family.'

This summary is very brief, only about two hundred pages in all, but it is of special interest because it furnishes the only account extant of his childhood and school days, and also because it often gives his matured and considered comments on past phases of his career. It was written at various periods between 1882 and 1895, and condenses the journals from 1837 to 1885, when Lord Salisbury's first short administration went out of office. It begins as follows:

S.—'I have been looking back at old journals which I find commence in the middle of 1837 after I left Oxford. As to earlier life it is well that I do not write such minute particulars as I find in my diaries, which are absurd in their detail, which I hope as time goes on to abridge, just giving the outlines of the life I have led, which may interest my children, and then destroying the bulky volumes, which have no "raison d'être" afterwards.'

He actually carried out his intention of destroying the first volume relating to the events of 1837 to 1840, but the rest fortunately remain. He did not himself attach much importance to them, as he told me shortly before his death, when I spoke to him of my intention of endeavouring to write his life, that they were not written for the public, and

that he was afraid that I should find them of but little assistance.

I hope my readers will agree with me in differing from this estimate of their value. To my mind the unconscious revelation of himself in these artless pages has a precision and a truth often absent from so-called confessions and autobiographies. He made entries, sometimes daily, sometimes at intervals of three days or more, in a locked quarto volume; and when the four hundred to five hundred pages were filled, he tore them from the back and threw them into a locked deed-box, and sent the cover with the lock attached to be refilled. No eye but his own—not even my mother's, ever saw a line of them during his life. I found the twenty volumes almost tumbling to pieces, except the last, which still retained the old binding and lock. I have endeavoured as far as possible to piece together the extracts into a consecutive history, as I consider that my father's own self-record and self-revelation are of immeasurably greater value than any gloss or comment of my own. I wish to draw special attention to the fact that although my narrative may appear somewhat disjointed, even scrappy, I have deliberately risked this defect, from the wish to avoid giving undue prominence to my own pen, and in order to allow my father to tell his own story in his own words, on the very dates when they were first written.

It is curious to find among the records of Sessions briefs, Circuit dinners, public and private entertainments, bodily ailments, sporting days, and such trivialities, and personal soliloquies, comments on great men and public events and estimates of their importance. It has been most difficult to make a selection, and I cannot hope to please all with the manner in which I have exercised my discretion, but my desire has been, while principally confining myself to public matters, to give enough of the private entries to indicate the home interests and recreations of the writer. As I read and re-read the pages, which I have done many times, it has made me

more humble and more grateful, to find every trifling incident of my own and my brothers' and sisters' lives recorded. The thankfulness for each little triumph or success: the sorrow, alas! for each failure or shortcoming, is touching. Not an anniversary in the lives of his children, or, as the lengthening trail spread, of his grandchildren and their descendants, is ever left unnoticed.

His love of children was wonderful, and three generations found him the truest and most sympathising friend and playmate. His will in our early years was law, something not to be argued about or disputed, but even at that period when the traditional management was founded on the precepts of Solomon, he hardly ever had recourse to violent methods of punishment. As we grew older, he relaxed the chains of discipline, and preferred advice and example to coercion. He had a deep respect for authority, and taught us that to repudiate an obligation, public or private, was a form of dishonesty little differing in culpability from theft itself. To smuggle, to shoot without a licence, was to defraud the State, to incur a debt without the moral certainty of ability to discharge it, was to rob your neighbour. His charities were large and systematic, but he objected on principle to Charity bazaars and dinners, and always declined to attend the latter. His Will contained no charitable bequests, he was no advocate of posthumous generosity. His religious opinions were those of a convinced and attached member of the Church of England. The traditions of the family were Evangelical, but my father throughout his life steadily gravitated more and more towards the High Church party, although he had never had any sympathy with an advanced ritual, and supported episcopal authority. He was no believer in religious persecution, and joined with his lifelong antagonist, Mr. Gladstone, in his opposition to Mr. Disraeli's unfortunate Public Worship Regulation Bill. His belief that the world was governed by a personal God was never shaken, and was always with him a guiding and living

influence. I will not however dwell further upon this side of his character, although I cannot altogether omit it. It is illustrated in every page of his diary, and will be sufficiently indicated in the extracts selected. Coarseness and swearing he abhorred, although born in a free-spoken age. In the record of his legal career he frequently expresses disgust at the Rabelaisian freedom of Grand Court or the mess table, but it is sufficient to say that during his long life no one ever heard an oath or a coarse expression proceed out of his mouth.

He was always a great reader, and history and biography were among his favourite studies. He loved poetry and the drama, and his retentive memory was stored with apposite quotations. He loved Wordsworth, perhaps most of all modern poets, and Tennyson took the first place among his contemporaries. It cannot be said that he fully appreciated the subtleties of Browning or George Meredith. He loved to read aloud, and his fine voice and sympathetic treatment made it a real delight to listen to him. He was a true worshipper of Walter Scott, and his readings of 'Marmion,' the 'Lady of the Lake,' and the 'Lord of the Isles' are among my earliest recollections. Not even the rise of Dickens, Thackeray, and George Eliot ever deposed the author of the Waverley Novels from his throne of supremacy. He retained his love of reading to the end, and during the last two years of his life, when he was almost entirely confined to the house, it was no easy matter to find enough new books for him. He was fond of plays, and was an admirable and appreciative auditor. He saw and criticised almost every actor from Kean to Irving and delighted to compare their varied renderings of the characters of his beloved Shakspeare. He himself composed verse with great facility, and many of his compositions are preserved, although I shall only quote one or two of them. Many of his political squibs have been published in magazines and papers, but he would not wish them to be resuscitated. He was fond of 'paper games'

involving the writing of a certain amount of epigrammatic or humorous verse, and his family frequently played them together and acquired some of his facility in light composition, but he himself was always supreme. It was however a law of the Medes and Persians that these ephemeral productions should at once be consigned to the fire or the waste-paper basket. His favourite recreations were shooting, riding, and fishing, and probably he owed much of his marvellous strength and vitality to his love of open air and exercise. Hemsted is not situated in a hunting country, and, although a great rider, my father seldom had the opportunity of following the hounds. Shooting was his favourite amusement, and he was always a very good and keen shot. At the age of eighty-nine he was able to shoot some four days a week in the winter, not merely joining in the sport for an hour or two, but taking an active part in each day's sport, although towards the end he sometimes availed himself of a pony to carry him from covert to covert. He could not as a fisherman claim rank as an expert; there is no trout stream in our part of Kent, but he always fished for salmon when he got the opportunity, and records the results of many successful days at Gordon Castle, Murthly, Braemore, Poltalloch, and other Highland quarters. He never took any great interest in farming or gardening. Scenery he always loved and appreciated and he was a great walker.

I cannot conclude this brief introduction without some allusion to the crowning influence of his life, the happy union with the partner who was only taken from his side in the sixtieth year of their married life. I hardly like to mention a subject so sacred, but the record would be incomplete if I abstained from some reference to it. The two temperaments were complementary the one to the other. My father was by nature anxious, impatient, and hot-tempered, although he obtained a good control over his congenital propensities. My mother was sweet-tempered and serene to an

extraordinary extent, and, even under the stress of sickness or bodily debility, was always able to preserve the outward appearance of quiet confidence and peace. Well do I remember how our own troubles were calmed by her gentle absence of all fuss, and calm assurance that all would come right. She had great gifts for the management of a household, and relieved her husband entirely from the anxieties of controlling the servants and other details of domestic worry, leaving him free to pursue his public or professional career. She had an absolute genius for hospitality, and well deserved Bishop Claughton's encomium of 'a perfect hostess.' Never was a union more perfect, or mutual love and sympathy more complete.

Happy he
With such a mother ; faith in womankind
Beats with his blood, and trust in all things high
Comes easy to him, and though he trip or fall
He shall not blind his soul with clay.

With this preface I commence my story. In the words of Robert Browning's touching introduction to his selection from his wife's poems :

'It will neither be a surprise nor pain to find that better could have been done, as to both selection and sequence, than, in the present case, all care and the profoundest veneration were able to do.'

CHAPTER I

EARLY DAYS AND SCHOOL LIFE (1814—1832)

GATHORNE HARDY was born at the Manor House, Bradford, on October 1, 1814. His Christian name Gathorne, which was added to the family patronymic when he was raised to the Peerage, was the surname of his mother, the eldest daughter of Richard Gathorne of Kirkby Lonsdale, Westmoreland, who married his father in August 1804. He had two elder brothers, John, afterwards Sir John Hardy, of Dunstall Hall, and Charles, of Chilham Castle, Kent; and nine sisters, two of whom survived him. The family according to tradition came over from Ireland, the earliest of whom there is any notice being a John Hardy, described as a labourer living at Horsforth in Yorkshire in 1670. From his son William, born in 1715, came another John Hardy, born in 1745, from whose marriage with Annis, only daughter of William Atkinson of Bradford, which took place on the 19th of November 1770, my grandfather John was born at Horsforth on the 11th of October 1773. His mother died on the 10th of December 1774, and from a second marriage with Mary, third daughter of Thomas Cockshott, of Bingley, a second son Charles was born in 1780. My father remembered this uncle, who died a comparatively young man at Sidmouth in 1831. In 1893 he writes:

‘I have a vivid recollection of him with his powdered head which gave him age in our eyes: he lived at Thorpe Arch where I recall him, but more when he came to see

us at Woodhouse near there, now *in* Leeds. He was popular with us children and promoted our sports, a little mischievously at times, unless my memory misleads me.'

I owe the only two records of my father's ancestry to his correction of incorrect statements made by others in print. The first dated December 1893, from which I have just quoted, was brought about by a statement in *Vanity Fair* that 'Lord Cranbrook's father was a gardener!' As I happened to know that my grandfather was a successful barrister, Recorder of Leeds for twenty-seven years, Judge of the Duchy of Lancaster Court at Pontefract, and member for Bradford in the Parliaments of 1832, 1835, and 1841, I wrote to the Editor and mentioned the fact, suggesting that his mistake might have arisen from the undoubted presence of a gardener in the family whom Tennyson described as the 'Grand old Gardener.' All I obtained from the Editor was the insertion of my letter in the next issue with a curt note, 'We should have said his grandfather.' I did not think it worth while to carry the correspondence further, although the gardener must be certainly relegated to a more distant date, as my father's grandfather was the successful solicitor at Bradford who founded the family fortunes by his purchase of the Lowmoor Iron Works in 1789 and died in June 1806.

My father writes on this occasion :

'My grandfather I never saw, nor I think did any of us but Annis [his eldest sister]. He it was who joined in the purchase of Lowmoor, an example of some foresight on his part; and I have heard that he first invested at Silkstone, but the absence of roads made him part with his purchase there, and cast in his lot with Lowmoor. My father always spoke of him with regard and respect, his letters show that he had a loving interest in my father's welfare. One great feat of his was his ride from Yorkshire

EARLY DAYS AND SCHOOL LIFE II

to London; on what legal business I forget, but my father said that his hair came off in consequence of the over-exertion. His death my father always attributed to the bleeding and depletion practised in those days, which brought on paralysis. My uncle Charles was not married, so that we had no cousins on my father's side, and but few on my mother's, the Moores of Grimeshill (2) and 5 Gathornes. My mother's mother lives vividly in my recollection, and the picture of her now hanging in the Library recalls her old age. She was dearly loved by us and took a tender interest in our well-being. She gave us each a guinea on our recurring birthdays which was "taken care of for us." My dear mother died in London on the 11th of January 1834, and her children have a grateful memory of her love.'

'My father was educated at Brierly School, and was afterwards 3 years near Bienne in Switzerland, and then came home to study for the Bar. He was fond of telling his reminiscences of Switzerland, and when we went abroad in 1833 was anxious that we should see the part of the country where he lived, and we did so. It was not in the grand scenery, but its lake and pleasant parterres were pretty. He was a pupil of Tidd, and among his fellow pupils were Copley, afterwards Lord Lyndhurst, and O'Connell, the latter of whom recalled those days when I saw him at Shrewsbury in 1828 on his way to London as M.P. for Clare. Lord Lyndhurst, my father used to say, was an indefatigable copier of precedents; a good foundation I suppose for a legal edifice. One thing I ought to recall as of interest; my father's life in Switzerland withdrew him from the English habit of drinking, and on his return, though much fêted, he resisted, and on one occasion was practically told that he was insulting his host if he did not

join in the consumption of his wine when it went round. He therefore got up and went away, and was followed by some of his friends, who, though not agreeing with him, supported his action. For years his host did not speak to him, but his resolution did something to modify the practice and to encourage others. What a burden it must have been! I remember our dining at the 'Bowling Hall' when Mr. Mason and Paley, contemporaries of my father, told me of their difficult ascent of the stairs to the drawing-room in former days, and called my attention to the settle for which they used to rush, and on which they sat immovable for the best reasons! While reading for and at the Bar my father was a volunteer, and in my recollection he was Colonel while living in Yorkshire both of militia and volunteers. I remember my mother giving colours on Woodhouse Moor, when I was run away with on my pony, and dragged off by the footman when I passed the carriage. So far as I recollect I was none the worse. How many a time have we dressed up in old uniforms, using pillows to give the necessary expansion!

'At the Bradford election my father's old military character drew enthusiastic support from his old comrades. After his marriage he became a provincial barrister, living first at the Bradford Manor House, now gone, which had its country aspect and where most of us were born, and secondly at Woodhouse near Leeds, now a part of it; and I fancy the Vicar, E. Talbot (the present Bishop of St. Albans) lived in a part of the old house.'

I have also a letter of my father's dated January 12, 1904, correcting the errors in a singularly inaccurate account of the Hardy family contained in the *Reminiscences* of Mrs. Pickering published in 1903. It is not

worth while to recall the gossip in question, which somewhat annoyed the family at the time, but the letter, written in my father's ninetieth year, gives a few additional particulars of the family history besides repeating those I have just quoted. He mentions some Hardys who had a toy-shop at York 'whom my father always respected as of kin. From them came Robert Hardy, a Wesleyan Missionary of eminence in Ceylon, whom I saw and conversed with. He wrote on Buddhism.'

He certainly was never ashamed of the humble origin of his family, but gloried in the industry and perseverance by which his progenitors raised themselves to their position of independence and influence, which enabled them to give their descendants the educational advantages which fitted them for professional and public life.

Gathorne Hardy was sent to school at Bishopton near Studley on the 1st of October 1820, the sixth anniversary of his birthday! It seems an early age to commence school life, but at least he was better off than his father, who had run away from school twice before he reached the same age! My father was fond of telling how the poor little fellow after his first escape awoke to find an awful head bending over him adorned with a huge periwig, which so frightened him that he at once bundled on a few garments and started off along the road, where he was soon overtaken by the same alarming person on horseback. His master, in spite of his terrifying appearance, was kind to the poor little runaway, and took him up in front of him on his horse and instead of scolding him told him stories, and made himself so pleasant that he determined to settle down quietly. Of Bishopton my father records little except that his three years there did him very little good; a holiday spent in Studley Park in honour of his birthday 'which made me popular among the boys' and an abortive 'barring out on a Sunday night' to avoid 'more Catechism' are the only events of that period that he records, but of the last rebellious proceeding he writes thus

in 1882: 'it remains vividly in my memory. It was but of short duration and I was but a meek follower of the stronger spirits and larger bodies which suffered accordingly from the cane.' From Bishopton he went on to Hammersmith, a school kept by a Mr. Elwell, highly recommended by Evangelical authority, probably through William Wilberforce, an intimate friend of his father, who preserved a letter congratulating him on the occasion of the birth of the little Gathorne on the addition to 'the good breed of Hardy;' and the connections and traditions of the family were so strongly Evangelical that it is no wonder that all three sons were sent to a place which could boast such satisfactory credentials, yet in spite of its high testimonials it does not seem to have left a pleasant impression upon his memory, for it is thus that he records his recollections of his life there:

'What a place of narrowness, bigotry, hypocrisy, and meanness! spying on the part of masters, deceit justified on the part of boys—forced "voluntary" contributions to Bible and Missionary Societies, reading limited to gloomy treatises and sermons (the life of Colonel Gardiner was quite a romance among them!). Letters from home, and to home, opened and read. No purchases but monthly under strict surveillance, and therefore bribery of servants to buy "sock" and at other times; forced distribution of parcels from home: add to this bad food, and it may be imagined that the results upon moral and physical character were not of the highest order. Poor Charles had a long torture in the face from under-feeding, I six months of disease in the foot, as was believed, from the same cause. How I recall when I had been shivering under lotions, beef tea, and slops, my father taking me to Pearson in Golden Square, his kind and abrupt "they are killing this boy! take him to your hotel and see that he has some good soup, and that he has constantly nourishing food." What nectar

that soup was at Batt's Hotel, what should I think of it now !'

He records that abundance of care and attention was bestowed upon him by Mr. Elwell in his illness, and all that good food could effect was done.

The only other record of Hammersmith which I have been able to find among my father's papers is a letter which he has preserved from a great nephew of his old master containing a record of the holiday tasks set to him and his brother Charles in 1824 when he was ten years old : *Cæsar*, Greek Testament, *Delectus*, and the *Æneid*. The letter is dated 1888, and the writer notes with justifiable pride the good names in the old books of the school in his possession. Among them he mentions those of Dean Alford, Lord Macaulay's two brothers, John and Henry, Daniel Wilson, William Jowett, John Henry Pearson, Spencer Thornton, and Henry Venn Elliott.

He left Hammersmith in 1825, still lame, and in his slow journey home he had his first glimpse of Oxford, 'little dreaming of any future connection with it such as I *now* (1872) have.' His home was then at Heath Hall near Wakefield, then still a rural retreat, and there, driving and sitting out, he made rapid progress, and was soon ready for outdoor amusements.

That year he went to Haslewood near Birmingham, of which he retained a grateful recollection, describing it as in every respect the reverse of Hammersmith.

'With all its disadvantages, it had one great counter-acting merit; the absolute reliance on the word of the boys which made lying shameful in itself, and discreditable among your companions. It came well with all its latitudinarianism after the school of meanness in which we had been cribbed, cabined, and confined. We were there about a year and a half, as I believe, by the recommendation of Lord

Brougham; we did not well prepare ourselves for a classical education, but I devoured books of which there was an ample and interesting library.'

He must have begun very early that devotion to literature and miscellaneous reading which he retained to the very end of his long life, for he records that when he arrived at Haslewood, he was considered an extensive reader for his age, and that when he left he had swallowed if not digested a vast amount of varied and miscellaneous literature. He fears that he was but superficial and desultory; but although he laments this, and confesses with a sigh that he was 'always driving over the ground too fast to become thoroughly acquainted with its features and characteristics,' his retentive memory, and instinctive and cultivated taste, made him a competent and trustworthy guide to the by-paths as well as the highways of literature, and he seldom failed to find an appropriate quotation or an apt illustration when needed. When surprised in the middle of his speech on the Public Worship Regulation Bill by a cat which ran all over the Members' heads, and diverted all attention for the time being, he recalled how the synod of Dort was disturbed by an owl, a parallel instance which certainly would not have occurred to many on the spur of the moment, after so disconcerting an episode. Haslewood appears to have been a somewhat polyglot school. He notes a strange company, Spaniards, Greeks, and others of different nationalities besides that of Great Britain.

'Our separation on Sunday was a little type of the whole country—we joined in one prayer, that of our Lord, at the commencement of school; to which we marched with our band, and enlivened by our choir. Much has been written of the Haslewood system, and it had its good points, not enough of firmness and good teaching to carry them into effect. In many and dangerous respects

discipline was lax, and although truth prevailed, there were some deadly evils.'

He does not mention any of his schoolfellows at Haslewood nor give further particulars of his life there except that he chronicles some visitors, among them William Wilberforce, who adopted the best means of establishing himself in a schoolboy's memory by tipping both him and his brother Charles, the latter the most, as his godson and the elder; he spoke to them very kindly, recalling his friendship with their father, who was one of his strongest Yorkshire supporters.

'He often stayed, although I have but a faint recollection of one occasion, either at Woodhouse or Heath. I fancy I see him balancing himself on the hind leg of a chair with a spoon in his hand while someone was playing or singing. I did not see what happened when he looked into the salad mixture bottle to see why it did not come out; and discovered to his cost.'

From Haslewood my father went to Shrewsbury, and Iliff's Hall. He does not state where he was placed at entrance.

'My place was not so high as it would have been had we been grounded, which no one at the former place was. How well I remember old Butler spinning round with a "Pish! what? that thing put by Brummagem?" when we told him our last place of education. If not to estimation in classics it did us good in our house by having given us the habit of non-concealment, which soon recommended us to Iliff who valued it, as anyone who aims at real education ought. He was always our warm friend.'

At this period he notes the first home sorrow, the death of the youngest of his sisters, one of twins.

The first home sorrow was to young hearts a bitter one; that sad night when Henrietta, twin of Matilda, was

taken away! The little ones had been so dear to all, and of the two, according to my remembrance, Henrietta was the blooming one, the other was more pale and quiet. I have always had a horror of croup from the thought of what I saw of her suffering and its result. She rests in the quiet churchyard of Kirkthorpe, which reminds me of the then vicar, of a class which hardly exists as such now. Could there be now such a scene as that of his afternoon sermon on Charity to entitle himself to an endowment? commenced without explanation or preface to let the people know why so unusual an event as an afternoon sermon took place, no prayer before or after, and his son standing up swinging the chain of his watch he held in his hand round and round in the short ten minutes!

He remained at Shrewsbury until he went up to Oriel College, Oxford, in January 1833; he was transferred from Iliff's to Dr. Butler's in 'consequence of the excessive bullying of two or three of his schoolfellows.' He was fond of Dr. Butler, and does not complain in any way of his treatment there, but he contrasts unfavourably the crowded bedrooms and arrangements for study with the far superior accommodation his own children enjoyed at Eton and Radley. This improvement is still continuous and progressive, and I am far from thinking that we have yet reached or ought to have reached finality and perfection; but the age which gave us the Factory Acts, and ameliorated the lot of the slave, the criminal, and the out-cast has done not a little for the children of the upper and middle classes by the immense improvement in public, and above all in preparatory schools.

I do not remember which of his schools to connect with an anecdote he was fond of telling of a coach journey home, when the vehicle was invaded by a young ladies' school, furnished with a pillow-case full of sandwiches for

refreshment on the way. Some mischievous boy—could it have been my father himself?—jettisoned the provisions, and he recalls that the lamentations for the loss of the pillow-case were loud, but that the loss of the sandwiches was borne with comparative equanimity. To Shrewsbury certainly belong his recollections of the local hero, Jack Mytton in his red coat, with his long hunting-whip making an unfortunate waiter dance by flicking his calves, insufficiently protected by white cotton stockings! His first meeting with an even more famous man, the great Daniel O'Connell, is recorded by him in the following note. The incident must have occurred on February 10, 1849, when O'Connell's carriage broke down at Shrewsbury :

'An interesting schoolboy reminiscence is an interview with the great "Liberator," as he was called, O'Connell. After his return for Clare he came over to England with quite a company of compatriots in attendance; and hearing that his carriage had broken down in Shrewsbury I ran at once to the Talbot where he had put up. As I hung about there, Bishop Doyle (as I afterwards found he was) spoke to me, and said "I suppose you want to see O'Connell?" On my reply in the affirmative he took me into the room where I found the agitator and his friends, among whom were The O'Gorman, Tom Steele, and others whom I do not remember. The Chief in a kindly tone asked me what I wanted, and I replied "a frank." He inquired to whom he should address it, and I gave my father's name. In a very hearty manner he exclaimed: "I knew him well. He was a fellow pupil of mine at Tidd's. You shall have as many franks as you like." I gave him other addresses, and he was as good as his word in supplying my requirements. Some years afterwards he spoke to me in the lobby of the House of Commons, showing a curious memory for faces.'

He was not very keen at games, but preferred long country rambles, and the banks of the river, and bathing. Among his schoolfellows he mentions Charles John Tindal, son of the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

‘Through him I became acquainted with his solemn-looking father and visited him at Bedford Square and at his house at Hampstead Heath which had been previously occupied by Lord Erskine, who, forbidden to enclose it by a wall, had made a hedge of a depth and width which effectually screened it from vulgar observation. I cannot relate any anecdote of the Chief Justice from personal recollection, but two of his quaint sayings with relation to the well-known Serjeant Bompas should not be lost. He was asked if he considered the serjeant a sound lawyer, and replied that a difficult question arose “for it had not been legally decided whether roaring constituted unsoundness.” On another occasion a request was made that a case in which Serjeant Bompas was engaged might be put off “as he was then speaking in the Court of Queen’s Bench.” Tindal put his hand up to his ear and said “I do not hear him,” with a quaint expression peculiar to him, and a twinkle in his sleepy eyes.’

‘I was fond of Dr. Butler, but when I look back I cannot speak well of the discipline of his later rule, nor do I think his career was the best education for a Bishop. A fine scholar he was, a kind heart, but not the stuff Bishops should be made of.’

His brother Charles, hitherto his constant school companion, left Shrewsbury before him in 1830 and went to the London University preparatory to taking his place in the Lowmoor Iron Works near Bradford, the family business.

S.—‘I have just taken from my shelves the “Christian Father’s Present to his Children” of which he wrote to me,

and which my father gave me with the words quoted from Charles's letter, "May God bless the reading of it to you as I hope He will to me, I know how hard it is to serve God at school, but we shall not be tempted above that which we are able." He was ever a good forbearing friend, alike through our long school life and in our after career.'

All through the pages of the Diary recur entries which testify to the depth and sincerity of the affection which united them.

He recalls running some five miles between callings over to see a prize fight when he just saw Dutch Sam fight with someone forgotten, for less than a minute. This was his only personal experience of encounters which, as he writes, roused much enthusiasm in schools as elsewhere. Of another relic of barbarism he records that he was never present at a public execution,

'for at Shrewsbury when one took place we were confined to barracks. Once however we were let out too soon, as there had been some expectation of a reprieve although the convict had been guilty of thirty-nine capital offences! They were none of them murders, but sheep, horse, and cattle stealing, with one case of wounding. The culprit was a sort of Robin Hood to the populace, to whom he was generous and friendly. He was hanging, but being in a smock frock with a cap over his head looked like a mere sack. The curious fact that many were waiting for his being cut down in order that their necks might be stroked by the dead hand for the cure of wens, and that they were admitted to the gaol for that purpose, shows how far superstition had extended, and how it was encouraged. Human life was held cheap in the early days of the nineteenth century, when Sir Simon le Blanc tried the Luddites at York, and put down their

formidable conspiracy with a high hand. My father spoke of him as that intrepid judge who sat at York with artillerymen with lighted lint-stocks standing by their guns around the Court. Seventeen men were convicted, and ordered for execution the next morning, and as sufficient gallows could not be provided they were hung in relays. The effect was tremendous, for whereas the town had been full of excited mobs of a threatening character, hardly a person was to be seen outside his house on the following day. Among those hung for Luddism was one for whom Brougham had obtained a verdict for £100 damages the previous circuit for having been slandered by being called a Luddite.'

My father notes as his earliest recollection: 'A burly man in a white hat leading a crowd whom he believes to have been Orator Hunt,' when he was three to four years of age. He clearly remembered the trial of Queen Caroline and the accession of George the Fourth, and that he was decorated with a skein of dark-blue silk in honour of his Majesty, and dressed in a skeleton suit with a frill standing up round his neck. The event was celebrated at his first school by a mild feast of oranges and indifferent pastry. One other schoolboy reminiscence should be noted, his only sight of Sir Walter Scott in the Sessions House at Edinburgh when on a tour in Scotland with his father and brothers when he was about eleven years of age. He had already greedily devoured many of his works, and was vividly impressed by his limp in walking, and by his white hair. The party posted through in a landau and four, and were amazed at the tolls they were called upon to pay. Once these amounted to 19 shillings in a stage of 17 miles. Accommodation was but poor in those days, and at Loch Lomond a shrill whistle was the only method by which my grandfather attracted the attention of the inn servants.

CHAPTER II

OXFORD AND THE BAR (1833—1838)

MY father went up to Oriel College, Oxford, in January 1833. All that he records of that period is comprised in seven pages of reminiscences written in 1872, and I am unable to supplement it much. His first two years were 'too idle,' and he deplores that he did not use his time well enough to secure the first class which he afterwards desired, and worked hard for towards the end of his time. But in 1834, when he was just twenty, there came into his life that influence which for sixty-three years was destined to be paramount, for on his first journey to Oxford he met Alexander Orr, the brother of his future wife. Acquaintance soon ripened into friendship, and he visited his friend's home in Ireland, Hollywood, near Belfast, with momentous results. His own account follows :

'To Oriel I went in January 1833, and my journey up led to an introduction which has affected, and how happily ! all my future career. Bitterly cold at Birmingham, I entered the coach for Oxford, & made my apologies to one of three inside passengers whom I somewhat incommoded in passing. No more passed between us in our frigid journey, of which we emulated the coldness. On reaching Oriel I found I was to lodge out, with a miserable bedroom within the College ; King's lodgings, where I also ended my Oxford career, were my destination, and another lodger there I found to be a freshman like myself, the

"compagnon de voyage," Alexander Orr. We naturally became acquainted, and as he got rooms in College before me, & on the staircase where my bedroom was, he naturally asked me to warm myself at his fire when I came in at night to my wretched dormitory. Intimacy followed acquaintance, and friendship intimacy, so that when I got rooms of my own, from which I never moved until I went out of College again, I had one good friend within its walls.'

With this friend two years later he paid the visit to Ireland which led to such important results.

'I can recall as if it was yesterday our landing from the steamer at Cultra, our walk up to Brookfield, and my first sight of her who was to make the joy of my life. How beautiful I thought her! and I have never changed my opinion, though face and form have been the least of her charms for me and her children. Then the days flew, and that bright house drew me out and made me companionable. Things passed which made me hope myself not altogether indifferent, but I was too young to make engagements or to venture too deep. However, an impression was made which the next visit years afterwards deeply confirmed and the end was—happiness!'

He records that he owed much during his last terms at Oxford to the more thoughtful life which then began. He was by nature painfully shy, and the geniality and friendliness of the quiet and cheerful home into which he was then introduced did much to thaw his reserve and bring out his latent qualities.

'In those days I positively *suffered* from shyness, and no one knows what that suffering is who has not experienced it; I do not know that I have ever been free from it,

but now I feel it less upon my legs speaking than at any other time.'

He never spoke at the Union although he often desired to do so, and only rose once, when he was not called. Some may think this diffidence strange in one who afterwards became so ready and effective a debater, but it is part of the emotional temperament which makes the orator. The speech which takes little out of the orator usually fails to affect his auditors, and I could name many of the most successful speakers on the platform and in the senate who have told me that they always feel miserable before a great effort. Among his friends he notes Monsell, Ward, William Harris, who founded the 'Putt' club called after his own nick-name, Fortescue afterwards Lord Clermont, and last not least his life-long friend and future brother-in-law, Carey Borrer, for fifty years Rector of Hurstpierpoint, Sussex, through whom, the confidant of his own state of feeling, he was throughout his time at Oxford always kept in touch with the Orr family. A tour through Switzerland with his two elder brothers in 1833 was a great enjoyment, and the record of it, still in existence, shows how keen was his enjoyment of scenery and travel; it does not, however, contain anything worth recording here. From this trip they hurried back to be present at the marriage of his eldest sister Annis to John Wood, the friend of Lord Shaftesbury, and his coadjutor in his philanthropical efforts. His retiring disposition has prevented his name from being prominently brought forward, but those who knew the inner history of the Factory legislation gratefully acknowledged the importance of the part he took by his untiring and unostentatious labours, and his unstinted and generous contributions.

My grandfather had been returned to Parliament as member for Bradford at the election which followed the Reform Act. He lost his wife on January 11, 'she had a tender loving heart and was missed by all deeply, and

it was well that the new occupation of Parliament came at this period of bereavement.' My father notes that he did not take much part in this election though he was busy enough in his future ones. But it is no doubt to this period that we owe the following vivid description of his first sight of the House of Commons :

'My first sight of the interior of the House of Commons was after the Reform Bill, when Cobbett sat on the front Bench near Sir Robert Peel, attired in a farmer's suit of grey tweed, with gaiters. "Leather breeches" Byng was there in the dress that gave him his name, and if my recollection is not astray, Sir F. Burdett was pointed out to me, wearing top boots. Lord Althorp's heavy hesitating oratory, accompanied by the hammering of one fist on the other, astonished me in a leader of the House, and Palmerston swaying backwards and forwards, speaking from the elbow did not impress me. Oratory, however, is not the only qualification for leadership, though it may be an important accessory. Lord Althorp's sterling character and integrity secured him a following of men who trusted him and felt that he would not deceive them. It is reported of him that in commenting upon the argument of an adversary he said that he knew he had a complete answer to it, but could not bring it to mind, and they must believe him, and so they did ! In after days Lord Palmerston proved to me that he could be effective, and though, when his head was turned by his great victory in 1857, his arrogance alienated the House so that he was turned out in 1858, he handled it subsequently with such dexterity that he kept his hold to the last day of his life.'

'In those days,' he writes, 'Newman was moving the hearts of many, and my best friends were among his

Sunday congregations, which I often attended, latterly indeed almost always. Sewell of Exeter too with all his eccentricities was a kind friend, and did me much good. His reunions and religious discussions were not thrown away.'

He was always an eager and attentive listener at sermons, and his diaries show by their comments and notes that his attention seldom flagged, and that like old Herbert he could find some good in most—

if all lack sense
God takes the text and preaches patience.

To leave for the moment strict chronological order and continue this subject, his father took him to report to the trustees of the Leeds Vicarage on the sermons of Dr. Hook which he had described in his home letters from Oxford, and he thinks that he impressed them favourably. In 1837 he tells how in Ireland he stood for two and a half hours in the crowd listening to 'the grand but rugged sermon of Dr. Cooke about the Elections' and of the impression made upon him by the fervid eloquence of the great McNeill. All his early associations were, as we have seen, Evangelical, although he soon became and remained to the day of his death a moderate but convinced High Churchman.

'I cannot but note how bitter I was against "Popery" then, not seeing anything in it but idolatry. I do not like it now (1882) but there are good sides to it.'

In 1837 he made the acquaintance of Blomfield, Bishop of London, by whose good stories he was impressed. One illustrated the danger of expressing regrets; a clergyman to whom he had refused a living writing on a subsequent occasion that, as he was so sorry not to give him the last living he asked for, no doubt he would gladly bestow another just vacant; and of the somewhat inappropriate

gift made to him by a clergyman's wife at whose parsonage no Bishop had stayed before, of a pair of braces with a fox on the tongue and 'tally ho' underneath. My father was present at Dodsworth's church when in response to sermons by the Bishop and Hook the then unprecedented offertories of £600 in the morning and over a hundred in the evening gave rise to the *mot* that Dodsworth was determined to get money 'by Hook or by crook.'

'About 1835, I began to be warm in Conservative politics, and took my active part in the Bradford election against Hadfield when my father headed the poll. What squibs we did write that time against our venomous opponent! for he was the incarnation of bitterness and unfairness! From that time I had a sort of recognised position among the constituents, and always received a hearty welcome from our friends. During the latter part of my Oxford career I had Lowe (afterwards Lord Sherbrooke) for a private tutor, and we have always been on friendly terms, though in these latter times I have had to say unpleasant things to him in the House. He was not popular at Oxford, nor, clever as he was, do I think he was a match for Trevor, who stirred the Union to its depths, and was so master of those who were on the committee that they had to send for some of their old champions, and among them Lowe, for aid. Lowe more than once took leave of the old society, and I remember his own delight at Trevor's quotation respecting him :

He fitted the halter, he traversed the cart,
And often took leave yet was loath to depart.

'But for Trevor's love of hot water he would have been a power not only there but since ; but he never achieved a position equal to his talents, whereas Lowe—! facts speak for themselves. Lowe was naturally sharp and aggressive,

but straightforward and honest with his pupils. He would not take the money of those who would not take advantage of his tuition, nor would he receive those whom he thought incapable of attaining what they had in view. Instances occur to me, but why should I record failures either of duty or ability? FitzGerald was a pupil as well as myself, and so was Mellish (afterwards Lord Justice) who ended in the same class as myself. FitzGerald went up later, but did not secure his First.

'The summer of 1836 I was with a reading party under Dayman, who was a very good tutor but a most unsophisticated man. We began at Minehead, but moved on to Ilfracombe against his will, but to his eventual delight. Hatzell, Ryder, Woolcombe made good companions, and we spent our time pleasantly enough without much society and with none we cared about. I was in for my degree that autumn, and took a Second Class. As Mellish and I were both tried after our viva voce in translation from Greek to Latin, there was some notion that we had a chance of a First, but I never heard anything authentic. However, I did that paper very ill, quite mistaking the Greek, which I had never seen before. Lowe thought well of my general papers. Erskine¹ was with me in that class, tho at that time I hardly knew him but as a friend of Borrer's. Faber, afterwards Father Faber, from whom so much was hoped, fell to the same level, & I ought to be content to number a man like Mellish among my equals there. Dean Church was in the first class of only three.'

There is no doubt that he took the disappointment of his failure to obtain First Class honours a good deal to heart.

¹ Afterwards his great friend and companion in chambers, my godfather.—ED.

Talking to him in March 1906 I found him full of the incidents of his examination, and so clear was his memory that he added other details to those which I have just quoted from his written account. He told me that Mellish, with all his ability, was said by Lowe to have no imagination. He construed the most difficult passages from the Greek tragedians with ease, but was bold enough to speak of the masterpieces of Aeschylus as 'poor silly stuff,' which certainly looks as if his critical judgment was not as remarkable as his attainments in other respects.

After leaving Oxford in 1837 my father came up to London to commence his education for the Bar, and on April 3 commenced his law studies in the chambers of Dugmore, 'an excellent conveyancer and kindly man.' One of his fellow pupils was Bruce, afterwards Lord Aberdare, who succeeded him in the post of Home Secretary. He was then living at home in Portland Place, and although he was a mere boy of twenty-two his affections had been deeply involved ever since his visit to Ireland, and he had that incentive to industry which more than any other has stimulated embryo lawyers to the exertions requisite for success in the most exacting of professions. His future wife was staying with her brother at Oxford when he, my father, and Carey Borrer went up in May to keep their Master's term, and in August he accompanied the latter to Hollywood to act as best man at his wedding with Elizabeth Orr; and after the wedding on the 17th he remained 'getting deeper and deeper,' and took the step of asking his father's permission to his making a proposal of marriage. The desired consent was not at once forthcoming, and the young man annoyed the old one by suggesting taking Orders instead of going to the Bar, with a view to an earlier union, 'wrongly and weakly, as, although I disguised it from myself, anyone could see my motive.' It was perhaps not unnatural that the father should have objected to his son's engaging himself so early to one of whom he knew

nothing except that she was an Irish girl with a pretty face. There was a tradition in the family, which I am almost sorry to contradict, that he sent the prudent elder brother Charles over to Ireland to put a stop to the flirtation; with the result that the latter, like the messengers sent to Jehu, took his place in the enemy's camp, becoming engaged to the youngest sister Katharine, not yet out of the school-room! My father's own diary unfortunately affords no foundation for this legend; he obtained the required consent in November, not a very long delay, and as Jane Orr was then in London with her brother Alexander, three days later he made his proposal by handing her his father's letter as she was leaving London, the brother not having given an opportunity for a *tête-à-tête* in the meantime. 'Fancy,' he writes, 'a proposal without a reply at the Regent Circus.' The reply came on the 21st. 'What posts in those days!' and on the 29th of March in the following year (1838), with his brother Charles for best man, he was married at Hollywood by Bishop Mant, and the happy couple started on their honeymoon for Castle Blayney. 'Our four horses were really needed, though rather a dashing beginning to life on a narrow income barely over £500 a year.' Three days later, on April 2, they heard of Charles's engagement to Kate, the youngest sister.

Another event which took place in 1837, the death of King William the Fourth, with the then consequent Dissolution of Parliament, set all agog electioneering, and the part which my father then took in the Bradford election had an important bearing on his subsequent career, as it confirmed and increased his early attachment to politics, gave him more self-confidence, familiarised him with addressing and holding the attention of large audiences, and also made him such a favourite with the natives of Bradford that when two years later he commenced practice at the Bar of the West Riding Sessions he at once received a sufficient number of briefs to give him a good start. Among the earliest of the events

recorded in his diary was the victory of Sir F. Burdett at Westminster; and comments are frequent upon the wasting of the Ministerial majority. Political feeling ran high in those days, and hopes and fears were alike extravagant. His friend Evans reports to him from Herefordshire the saying of one of the neighbouring farmers: 'They say Lord Durham is to be King, but I shall vote agin him, as he arnt of the same way of thinking as our Rector.' He gives a vivid account of this exciting election:

'We were at Lowmoor on the 27th ready for the campaign. I had a busy time at Bradford, where we were forced into a coalition with Bousfield Ferrand which was fatal. I had to go about with him on his speaking excursions, and cannot say I liked my company much! At the same time he was admirable for the mob, as I noted then and remember now. If the Committee had worked as hard as they drank, the result might have been different! Everywhere I was well received, and did an enormous amount of talking as well as canvassing. All was pretty quiet except one night when we were soundly pelted not only with mud but some stones; still the mob was not so hostile as on some former occasions, and we had some mob of our own, which was hardly so before. A noisy nomination was followed by our complete defeat on the 26th of July, not unexpected by me except in the numbers. The balance was far more even on the canvass, and of course rumours of inducements on the other side were rife; however, in cold blood I doubt if much was done in that way. On the 31st was the great battle of Wakefield, owing as I can vouch from personal observation to an attack from behind on the Blues (Tories) by an organised gang with green flags. The Yellows joined in, but at first the Blues drove them both away. What broken heads, torn garments, &c., there were afterwards the journals

of the day relate. My new morning frock coat was sadly mutilated, and the arm stiff with the blood of another who tried to hide his head behind me. The wounds and blood at Wortley's lunch were frightful to see. To conclude this record John¹ was threatened, and an attempt was afterwards made to implicate him in a charge of manslaughter before the coroner, but it broke down ignominiously after some strange evidence of which Mr. — was not the least rash to say the least of it! No ground was shown except that he had a white hat.'

On the 28th of June he was present at 'that grand spectacle the Coronation Procession and the glorious fireworks in Hyde Park.' 'We were out from 6 A.M. to 2 A.M. on the 29th. On July the 2nd we were at the festival in Westminster Abbey, when Luther's hymn by Braham, with Harper's accompaniment, thrilled us.' Among other political entries of the next two years he records the excitement of the spring of 1839 'which stirred my blood as it has always done,' the majority of 5 on the Jamaica Bill which caused him great rejoicing till the 'Bedchamber intrigue' intervened. How the attempt to form a new Ministry was defeated through the Queen's refusal to part with the Ladies of her Household is set out in Her Majesty's letters, and it is not difficult to see that with her usual political sagacity and candour she afterwards recognised that in this instance she made a mistake. When on November 23 the Queen announced her intended marriage he watched the arrival and departure of Privy Councillors. 'The hooting of Ministers was extraordinary, as the favour shown to the Duke, Peel, and others. I remember Lord Melbourne sitting forward with a smiling face as he drove quietly through the hostile mob.' The same year he records Frost's Chartist riots at Newport, and in 1840 the defeat of the Government on Prince Albert's allowance,

¹ His eldest brother.

and the meeting on February 21 which he attended at Freemasons' Tavern in favour of the Sheriffs against the House of Commons (*Stockdale v. Hansard*). 'It was a turbulent affair: O'Connell and Hume were there, and were tremendously hooted. Mendicity tickets and halfpence were thrown at "the Big Beggarman." In the spring of the same year occurred the attempt of the potboy Oxford upon the Queen's life.' My father notes that it fell to his lot as Home Secretary to release him in 1867 with Her Majesty's assent, after twenty-seven years in prison. He had learnt languages and become a famous house-painter, and in 1872 was doing well in one of the Australian Colonies under another name.

On March 29 my eldest brother was born, 'a monster for fat and strength.' I may pass briefly over my father's visit to Ireland where he went in June, and remained until late in October, making a tour through the North of Ireland, Coleraine, Derry, Donegal, and Sligo. He admired the beauties of Lough Hill and Haslewood, the owner of which place, Mr. Wynn, was described to him as 'an old but wholesome man, he's getting no diseases.' On their way home in October he and his wife paid a visit to the Taylors at Ardgillan, and Lady Jane Taylor has kindly sent me the rhyming epistle of three pages which records his gratitude, and describes the adventures of his journey home, not forgetting the marvels of the railway journey!

Almost half resolved in my spirit I seem
To eschew for the future all moving by steam;
One feels all so helpless as onward we glide
Unable to stop like Pickwick on his slide;
Were it not for the swiftness who ever would change
A horse for conveyance so slippery and strange?
The fleet well shaped legs for four horrid brass wheels
The snort for a grunt, and the neighing for squeals
From that horrid steam whistle.

It is perhaps hardly worth preserving, but I quote it as the earliest piece of his handwriting that has come into my possession, and the visit was the beginning of a lifelong friendship with the Taylor family. He always attributed

his first introduction to Parliament to Edward Taylor, one of the most genial and successful of Conservative whips.

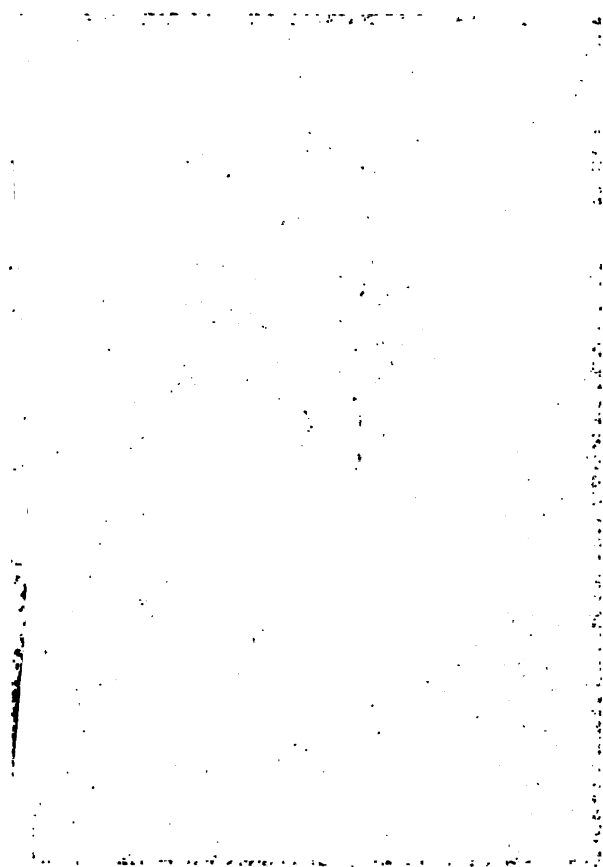
He had commenced reading with James Parker, afterwards Vice-Chancellor, 'a first-rate lawyer, an untiring worker, with much shrewd humour.' On May 2, while still a pupil, he was called to the Bar, and on June 17 with his friend Erskine took possession of joint chambers in Lincoln's Inn. At the June sessions he commenced his legal career at Skipton and Bradford, where he had nine briefs, 'a too prosperous beginning.' The journals kept throughout the remainder of his life are preserved, and form the chief materials for the rest of my narrative.

CHAPTER III

LIFE AT OSNABURGH TERRACE (1838—1844)

THERE is little of oral tradition to add to what my father himself records of this early period of his life. Two things, however, I should like to mention; they were told me just after my father's death by his dear friend the Bishop of St. Andrews, who must have heard them from my mother. When the two first entered their new home together, he turned to his wife and said: 'As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord.' The first fees he earned at Bradford were solemnly handed over as an offering to God's service. I hardly like to make public matters in their nature so private, but I am anxious that the man should be revealed, and the spirit in which he commenced his married life was carried through it to the end, and shines out in every page of his diary. My readers will forgive me for just touching upon this side of his character: it would not be his wish that I should give it any prominence.

The house in which he spent the first six years of his married life, where his three eldest children, two boys and a girl, were born, was situated at Osnaburgh Terrace, a little street just beyond the Euston Road, facing the church. I visited this house, number 8, in January 1907. It had then become a boarding-house, and the situation and outlook did not look particularly attractive, but it contained more rooms than I should have expected to find in the first home of a young couple starting life on a slender income of barely £550 a year. The dining-room is of a fair size, and the little room behind, if somewhat poky,



Handwritten text, possibly a signature or date, located below the stamp.



Jane, wife of Gathorne Hardy
From a miniature by Thorburn

quite good enough for the business quarters of one who, when at home, always started early for chambers; these he shared with his friend Erskine, afterwards my godfather, the grandson of that famous advocate who became the first Lord Erskine. Experience showed that the income derived from the settlement of £14,000 was not quite sufficient, for at the end of the first year of the young couple's married life my grandfather added a hundred a year to their income. The old letter, obviously the answer to an appeal, in which he announces his liberal intentions, was found among my father's papers. It runs as follows:

' ODSAL, 26 Oct' 1839.

' MY DEAR GATHORNE

' I am sorry you should begin to feel anything of the *res angusta domi*, though it is not an uncommon fate with young gentlemen who are set upon marrying without thinking of the means of encountering the expense of a household! I was in hopes that with economy (and I make no accusations on the want of it) the interest of the money which I advance to your trustee and the dividends on your wife's £4000 would have sufficed— . . . You will remember my promise was to give you twice as much as Mr. O. might give his daughter, this I gave, & half as much more. It having pleased God however to bless me with the means of keeping you out of the lock up of the Sheriff of Middlesex I shall allow you in future, if I am equally able, 5 p cent, on my 10000£ & to get you out of your existing difficulties that allowance shall be reckoned as beginning on the 1st of Jan' last & I send you a cheque for the four past quarter days of 25£ each. I do this in the conviction that you will deserve it by your devotion to that profession to which you are destined, and in which you will soon be able to make yourself independent

of me. The 105£ over and above your 100£ you will pay to Mr. Parker.

‘Ever your affectionate father,

‘JOHN HARDY.

‘You must not forget that you are part of the dead weight at present!’

In this house the young couple spent the first six years of their married life, and managed to entertain a good many relations and friends. It was very convenient, from its proximity to my grandfather’s residence in Portland Place, and to the Regent’s Park. This latter place, from its old associations, was always a favourite resort of my mother, and I can remember that when I was driven there as a treat I used to take a paper bag with me to bring back some of the ‘real country air.’

At this time my grandfather was already a rich man, but he wisely determined to give his son the useful stimulus of straitened means, and the experiment was successful. ‘Your fortune is made, but how did you manage it?’ was the question put to the famous advocate Erskine after his first great and convincing speech. ‘I felt my children tugging at my skirts for bread,’ was the reply; and the same motive was soon present to arouse and sustain the energy of the young Gathorne Hardy. Good luck, some interest at Bradford, and Yorkshire clannishness, no doubt helped to secure his early success in his profession, but the ‘devotion’ of which his father speaks in the above letter was certainly not wanting. He never missed a sessions or assize, and the diaries from 1840 give full particulars of almost incessant journeys by coach, post-chaise, and rail. It may interest the present members of his profession to recall the amount of attendance required of an industrious junior on the Northern Circuit in the early ‘40s, and I have taken out a record of his first and second years’ movements as a

June 1840.

Ideal June 27. Arrived here (Thank God) without accident. Baby & Jane though both poorly having stood the fatigue of their journey only well & seeming as the better for it. Chas & Kate who preceded us by a day had equal good fortune & say they are & look very well. Had Mr. Ball as a companion on the shallop from Manchester. He is sensible but rather egotistical & a trifle too proud. But off a note of our safe arrival to my father. & shall look back with satisfaction to my journey if I get back my umbrella!

July 1. Got back from Skipton last night having seen some 17 of my future comrades & no business. There was but little attempt & that in few hands. There are some queer fellows among the counsel but some promise well - Pickering & Doyle. Hamerton are among the latter. I drove the other newcomers beside myself (Mr. Day) & Bradford - Unhappily I am his junior & was therefore on duty at Skipton - he will have the trouble at Bradford.

July 2. Drove down early to the Telbot where I found some of my comrades with whom

FACSIMILE OF FIRST PAGE OF DIARY.

(Slightly reduced.)

sample of the whole. He left town for Leeds on December 30, 1840, and was there and at Knaresborough, Wakefield, and Doncaster, 'in intense frost and snow,' until January 13, 1841. On March 6 he started again for the assizes at York, and was there and at Sheffield, Liverpool, Pontefract, and Doncaster, till April 16. On June 18 he was at Bradford for his father's election, in which he took an active and prominent part, and July 5 found him once more at Bradford sessions, and from thence till the 20th he was occupied at Leeds, Brighouse, Rotherham, and York. On August 2 he was 'hard at work practising shorthand'; after his holiday he was off again for Leeds and Sheffield, from October 12 to 29, and on December 29 he left again for Leeds. I will not give the details of the next year's journeys, but he was away in Yorkshire 124 days. When we consider the expense and difficulty of travelling, to which there are constant allusions, it cannot be considered that he neglected his opportunities or took his professional career too lightly. Yet politics always exercised a powerful influence in his mind, and there are many such entries in his journal as the following one:

D. August 5, 1841.—'It is well for me that I am not an M.P. as I fear that law would stand a small chance with politics! Oh for more energy in all I do, more thought of the future and the prospects of my dear children!'

A few extracts from the Diary for this period, with such brief comment as will make it intelligible, will sufficiently indicate the nature of his pursuits and interests during this early period.

D. Bradford, July 2, 1840.—'Walked into Court briefless, but did not long remain so, for before the day was over I had nine briefs before me, two of which I disposed of. Hudson gave me a motion which was my first essay, than which nothing could have been easier.

Wrote to tell Erskine of my good fortune, which will please him I think. Had a prosecution the last case in the first Court and convicted one of my men, but the prosecutor had been tampered with by the two others, and would not swear to them, though it was clear they were of the party. All fell upon a poor fellow half deaf and dumb, who could not say or do anything for himself. I was not so nervous as I expected, but I dread a defence which Wagstaffe gave me.'

D. July 2, evening.—'Another day in Court. My defence went off nicely by the prosecutor not appearing. Wagstaffe, however, gave me another defence in a case where a Bill has not been found yet. Had two prosecutions, one in each Court, and am beginning to feel quite audacious, as a barrister should! I am considered, and consider myself, very fortunate. May I not lose my advantage by my own folly or carelessness! Bench and Bar are very kind to us novices.'

D. July 27.—'Was highly amused by a letter dated Odsal Weigh—congratulating me in sober prose on my elevation to the Bar, nor thus content, my worthy friend proceeds to compliment and incite me in rhyme:

Now graciously to smile upon the Court
And now like thunder make a loud report!'

D. August 6.—'Yesterday was the dinner of the Protestant Conservative Association at Buttershaw; the room was crammed. I believe there is not much vanity in saying that mine was the speech of the evening, for there was no other attempt at speaking except by a young gentleman who, because some "Papists" kicked his shins, compared himself to the martyrs! What amused me most was the remark of old James Lee. Someone speaking said

of a famous Bill "I believe they call it the Reform Act." "Aye," said J. L., "they do give it a nickname."

D. August 14.—'I read a little law in the morning and intend, if I have energy, to write a great deal more than I have done; as my style of writing and thinking wants improvement sadly, and I can do the latter better with a pen in my hand than without.'

D. May 7, 1841.—'The strife of politics is renewed to-night on the sugar duties, which Ministers, as a last step of shabbiness, propose to reduce, to the ruin of our free labour Colonies! having spent £20,000,000 to abolish slavery at home, we are to patronise it abroad. The Corn Laws too are to be agitated by these gentlemen, consistent only in a love of place which has led them through an unprecedented line of shabby profligacy.'

D. June 7.—'Peel's motion on Friday carried by one. No confidence!'

The dissolution of Parliament followed, and my grandfather was once more the Conservative candidate for Bradford, Busfeild and Lister being the two Radical candidates. My father took a very active part in this election.

D. Wednesday, June 23, 1841.—'I went to the Crown in Ivygate with Hustler, and, after he had spoken, responded to my father's health in a speech great in quantity, as it was nearly two hours long, and of a quality which at least seemed suitable to the audience, who were very enthusiastic. I only hope those who pledged themselves last night may redeem their pledges. All seems to look well, but worse is before us. To-day I canvassed Horton with C. Acroyd, our chairman of last night.'

D. July 1.—'All is well over, and we at the head of

the poll after the show of hands in our favour the day before. Every night but Saturday and Sunday I have been drawing large audiences. On Wednesday at the Nag's Head, on Thursday, after conducting Wortley into Bradford and speaking at his lunch, at the Cock and Bottle, where I spoke at great length. On Friday at two places in Bowling and one in Bradford. On Monday at Manningham, Great Horton, Little Horton, and the Craven Heifer, besides speaking from our hustings three times, the first time as a volunteer, but yesterday and the day before responding to a call made upon me. Our procession on Tuesday was magnificent, and all was wound up by a victory perfect and complete yesterday. It would have been more so over Busfeild, but a push was made by our Committee during the last half-hour to put him over Lister, but they began too late, and Lister is returned by the plumpers of his father, two brothers, and Dick Grierson.'

Poor Lister did not long enjoy his triumph; he died before the 6th of September, and Wilberforce was invited to contest Bradford against Busfeild, who stood again, this time with success.

D. September 22.—'The *Morning Post* of this day announces the defeat of Wilberforce by five, a melancholy end to our hopes of making Bradford thoroughly Conservative!'

The next extract illustrates the perils of railway travelling when in its infancy. It describes the narrow escape of my grandfather and his son-in-law John Wood.

D. October 4, 1841.—'Saturday afternoon brought a great cause for thankfulness to God. A dreadful accident happened to the train in which my father and Wood were coming down, and though persons were killed in the com-

partment of the same carriage before and behind, they, and those in the centre with them, almost miraculously escaped. From their account, the result was the death of four or five, who seem to have been awfully mutilated, but the full particulars we have not yet heard. If the accident, which I fancy arose from some of the rails having been displaced, had happened on a raised part, or in a rock cutting, they must have been destroyed; as it was, they were violently forced up the inclined bank of sand, and remained almost perpendicular on the hinder part of the carriage, which as well as the front, was open, the carriage being partly first and partly second class. Jane and I went up immediately, and saw my father and Wood, who appeared horror-struck, and wondering at their own preservation: for which God be praised!

D. Wednesday, October 6.—‘When I walked yesterday morning to Eastern Terrace I heard more of the accident, as my father, having been at the inquest, was better informed both of its cause and its extent. It happened from the front engine being heavy and beginning to swing, until from the weight of water thrown backwards and forwards, and the slipperiness of the rails, it had fallen off the line. The result would probably have been more fatal had not the engineer of the second engine reversed the motion, and so checked the train instantaneously; he was saved, but two stokers were killed, and the two servants and a guard seriously hurt, and from what we hear, Mr. Carpen, the master of the servants, in a very dangerous state. When my father saw the carriage on Monday he was more than ever surprised at his escape, for the ends were smashed, the beam which connects the whole carriage shivered, and the top completely broken through: and some estimate of the shock may be formed from the fact that the carriage

was driven across the up line of rails, over the ditch beyond, and turned round on the bank, so that those in it who had had their faces looking towards Brighton found themselves looking towards London. Still while one shudders at an event so awful, one must use this method of travelling, and I think my father and Wood right in going to the inquest by railway, after which Wood proceeded by it to London. Charles and John took the same conveyance to London yesterday: I only hope that they accomplish their journey safely, and are now snugly inside the Cornwallis.'

D. Friday, October 29.—'Found dear Jane and my little ones safe but much fatigued by a most untoward journey, another tunnel having fallen in.'

D. May 31, 1842.—'Nothing more since I last wrote but a desperate attempt on the Queen's life, which, by the blessing of God, failed. Such are the happinesses of Royalty! It made me weep when I read the account, in pity for the young wife and mother so cruelly assailed, the sovereign so robbed of confidence in her people!'

D. January 22, 1843.—'Last night I omitted an event which is ringing through London, viz. the attempt made by a man named McNaughten, to assassinate Peel's private secretary on Friday afternoon. The villain, who took him (as the general opinion seems) for Peel himself, fired two pistols at Mr. Drummond close to Charing Cross, one of them with dangerous, it yet remains to be seen whether with fatal effect.'

D. January 28.—'On Wednesday morning poor Mr. Drummond died of his wounds.' (Macnaughten was acquitted on the ground of insanity.)

The autumn of 1843 was spent at Bowness, where he took a small house on the lake. Here the time passed

pleasantly enough, great enjoyment being derived from the lovely scenery and the boating, bathing, and fishing. My father had an interview with Wordsworth at Rydal Mount, which he thus describes :

D. August 25.—‘ We have just seen the venerable bard and are much pleased with our interview. He was ready to converse, and talked on many subjects with us, and on all well. Still it struck me that his memory appeared to be failing in a slight, very slight, degree, and when one considers his great age and the use he has made of his powers one cannot but dread a termination soon. He has not, however, worn himself out like Scott and Southey. There is more repose in his life and writings than the former ever had. Southey’s history we have yet to learn ; from what Wordsworth said there will be some delay in the publication of his correspondence &c., in consequence of disagreements in his family commencing with his second marriage. I shall often recall the memory of the blind old man by his fireside playfully jesting with his wife, who seems to have been the partner of many a long year, about his fear of boating &c., and her mild yet animated manner. Jane and I went in alone at first with Mr. Graves, but when our host heard that there were more in the carriage anxious to see him—which was not until we were rising to retire—he begged they might come in and see “the little lion,” and they came in and we sat down again and talked a long while. The rain having cleared off a little, he led us to his terrace and showed us the views which Rydal Mount commands, but the sky was not propitious and they were not seen to advantage.’

D. October 1, 1843.—‘ If affection can make one enjoy years as they roll on I ought to be happy indeed. I must not let the return of the anniversary of my birth, my new year’s

day, pass without some thought of past and future, and how much cause for gratitude have I in the former, how much for hope in the latter ! Still I am dissatisfied with myself for want of energy and earnestness in study, and in all I undertake. Clarendon and Guizot, whose history of the Rebellion I will hope to finish this week, make the sum total of my reading this summer. I have then to resolve on more diligence, and I am not blind to the necessity of it, especially on the subject of the law. To this, God helping me, I will dedicate myself with perseverance and ardour, not omitting other reading but making all else subordinate to it. I wish I could *think* more, and rely more on my own mind instead of ever gathering from others. Let me make an effort too to regulate my temper more carefully. I have felt lately an extreme irritability which threatens to break out. I must not let this master me, but pray to strive against it. I believe I am too anxious to be made much of, and this proneness to anger arises from slight at times, but besides this I have felt a splenetic disposition apart from the cause I mention. The future is before me, let me use it in amendment. I have plenty of other faults to combat, but I dwell on one which has struck myself. May my more secret ones come to my knowledge and be eradicated ! God grant me his grace to keep good resolutions, and if I live until another October may I be able to mark improvement in intellectual and moral culture, of both there is much need !'

Early in this year, 1844, my father began to get briefs at the Parliamentary Bar, and the lucrative fees earned at this 'professional dram-drinking' as he aptly terms it in an entry of June 22, soon put him in an independent position financially, and encouraged him to look out for a larger and more central residence. These were the palmy days of railway speculation and enterprise, and a junior led

by Austin or Hope Scott was apt soon to find an opportunity of showing what stuff was in him, the giants being often detained at a critical time before some other Committee, or perhaps, as was once related of one of them, lingering by Rotten Row 'doing equal justice to all his clients.'

D. February 19.—'On going to chambers I found two retainers, one for the Manchester, Leeds, and Huddersfield branch Railway, and another for the Manchester, Leeds, and Bradford branch. How thankful I ought to be, and I trust am! I began rather to dread running too near or beyond one's means, and this comes to avert it. Now if I am fortunate enough not to have it clashing with the Sessions or York, what a happy fellow I shall be!'

D. March 21.—'In Committee, and left entirely alone, Austin, my leader, being otherwise engaged, I examined and spoke in reply to their case, but very feebly. In fact all yesterday I was miserable about it, for I knew well my omissions, but the hurry of the proceedings, my unpreparedness to speak, &c., must plead my excuse. Nothing could have saved us, so my client lost nothing. I had a most friendly note from Elsley this morning. Last night at 10 o'clock got my brief (containing no real information) against the valley line to Bradford—consultation at eleven this morning, Wrangham, Hope, Calvert, my leaders. They left me entirely alone except for the last ten minutes. Delay is what we require at present in order to complete our case. The thing ought to do me good, for the room was crowded with West Riding people, attornies, &c., all very friendly and kind to me. Hildyard told me that *Hudson* was sufficiently pleased with what I did to propose retaining me for the Leeds and Bradford valley line, but heard that I was retained for the opponents of the Bill. One wishes

sometimes for a good reflector to let one know how one really appeared.'

From that time he was constantly busy, and was soon earning a good income in London as well as gaining ground in sessions and on circuit.

D. June 8.—'We were fortunate enough to get a good view of the Emperor of Russia, the King of Saxony, and Prince Albert. Have been reading "Coningsby," clever—but what does it mean? Is the restoration of the Abbot of Misrule and Maypoles the policy of the new generation to content the peasantry & make the sovereign really a *monarch*? If any men can give the country faith, loyalty, &c. it is a consummation devoutly to be wished, but as to "Young England" effecting it they have neither the position nor the lever to move the world.'

D. June 9.—'Dear Jane's birthday; may God send her many happy returns of it, and may I long be blessed with her sweet society! Another year, if we live, will probably see us in another home. Will it or can it be a happier one than this has been to us with all its defects and disadvantages? Hearts make home not houses. However, my father with his usual liberality and kindness, will help us freely in making a change, and the only difficulty is to choose the place. Nothing could be kinder than he in his chat with us.'

'I wish I could see my way more clearly as to my future professional prospects. The truth is my reliance ought to be on my own exertions instead of that dreary hope of some luck turning up for me day by day. I get indolent and careless from it, and do not improve myself in the invaluable hours which at present are free to me. This Parliamentary practice which I have so much enjoyed,

and which by its produce has put me at ease, may be an evil if its effect be to chill one's energies, or rather to soothe them down by the ease with which one gets on at it. Let me resolve, or rather let me act at once, and endeavour not only to read but to discipline and train my mind to apprehend and use what I get from books or men.'

D. York, July 13.—'I have just returned from Grand Court, at which Ellis certainly made excellent amusement, which was rather counteracted by the extreme dulness of Wortley's speech. Ellis was especially good in a letter supposed to have been written by the plaintiff in a breach of promise, and corrected by Martin. Roebuck as the flea that fires a cannon for *every* party. Monteith dancing the "pole-cat." Lewin as the Recorder on £40 a year, and Baines's remark, "Why! they only give me £500 at Hull." Baines's text for a discourse on Lewin and Corn Law—"and there was a great famine in the City so that an ass's head was sold for 40 pieces of silver."'

D. August 2.—'W. G. Ward is writing a book in which he distinctly gives the preference to Rome and says all should join it, yet himself remains a Fellow of Balliol. Honesty in profession of opinions is not followed by the disinterested honesty of retiring from a situation in which he has no right to be with such opinions. Where will all end? Everything seems to tend to a great conflict of opinions. Church and sects seem stirred to their depths, and the very controversy drives men to strong expressions, which become opinions because they are ashamed to go back from them. May the Church which I believe to be the finest on earth be preserved through the struggle, and come out more glorious and beautiful than she now is! May I be kept in paths of moderation without the sacrifice of truth!

May I have not only opinions but practice! Religion should be a life not a theory.'

D. August 16.—'We four then took carriage to Netley Abbey, which repays a visit, though defaced and defiled as much as a place can be. Tables and benches with the remains of pic-nic festivities in every part of the building, not omitting the transept of the church—a consecrated building at least. The owner may mean well, but so may the occupier or tenant, who is a brewer, and I observed beer for sale in one part under the charge of the man who takes such care as is taken of the place. We did not make a long stay, partly owing to this unpleasant detraction from what would otherwise have been pleasing thoughts of times gone by and admiration of what is beautiful even amid these ruins of whitey-brown paper, broken bottles, and chicken bones.'

Barham in the 'Ingoldsby Legends,' seems to have been struck in the same way by the desecration of Netley Abbey. His verses on the subject are too long to quote, but the finish aptly describes my father's feelings—

A visitor whom you drove over one day
Was exceedingly angry and very much scandalised
Finding these beautiful ruins so vandalised.
And thus of the owner to speak began
As he ordered you home in haste—
No doubt he's a very respectable man
But I can't say much for his taste!

D. August 29.—'We continued Arnold and enjoyed much the second vol. Let me remember in reference to my own children "That teachers must still be learners or the taught will be drinking the water of a pond instead of that of a spring."'

D. September 2.—'The great news is the reversal of

O'Connell's judgment¹ by Lords Denman, Cottenham, and Campbell, against Brougham and Lyndhurst, the latter backed by the assent of 7 out of 9 judges, the former by Parke and Coltman! The unanimity of the three first is rather surprising. Lord Denman's brew was consonant to his character, Campbell's to his politics. O'Connell has a trying game to play, and his skill will be tested by it. The thing seems to have been wholly unexpected. Lord Stanley has accepted the Chiltern Hundreds preparatory (as is said) to a peerage. I wonder he does not bide his time. Still the Government is pretty strong in the Commons and wants a voice in the Lords.'

In the margin opposite to this last entry my father has noted a curious incident which I have often heard him relate. He happened to come to the bar of the House of Lords on an occasion when Lord Shaftesbury was speaking. Bright and Gladstone were also at the bar; the former said to the latter: 'This house does some good, if only it rids the Commons of such fellows as Shaftesbury.' 'But,' replied Gladstone, 'you must remember that it took Stanley out of the House of Commons, and changed the whole course of English politics.'

D. September 30.—'A few minutes will bring me to the beginning of another year of life, thirty years of which are now with the past, and what a retrospect do they afford! How little of improvement mental or moral, how little to be loved, how much to be lamented! God grant me a new heart to commence a new year, and if I am spared to the end of it,

¹ O'Connell had been convicted in 1844 on the charge of contriving, by means of intimidation and the demonstration of great physical force, to procure and effect changes to be made in the government, laws, and constitution of the realm. He was sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment, a fine of £2,000, and to find sureties to keep the peace for seven years. This the Lords reversed on writ of error.

may its records present a more pleasing review than the past one! Yet what blessings are wanting to me? None of temporal things, and of spiritual things the lack is in myself, and not in Him who has afforded me abundance of opportunities and means of grace. Good resolutions have not been wanting, but strength of mind, moral courage, religious principle have failed to carry them into effect. I believe after all I know but little of myself, as I rather dream of external things than reflect on myself and my destinies, for indolence has become a habit which lulls me too much to admit of real thought and reflection. Well, I have still time before me, and shall have opportunities, I doubt not, to try me, and test the reality of my resolutions again, and yet in spite of former failure I would resolve to do all with all my might and not to rest satisfied with half doing anything. My chief blessings, an almost (to me quite) faultless wife, and three dear sweet children, should stimulate me if anything can. My profession demands my energies and I would that its calls did not throw me into society to the evil of which I yield too readily.

Uphold thou my feet that my footsteps slip not.

‘The bell has chimed and I am now thirty years of age, nearly half a life gone even if I am spared to the limit of three score and ten, and the residue to go how much faster than the past! O may it be more profitable!’

On the 18th of October he paid a visit to Monckton Milnes, afterwards Lord Houghton, where he records his first meeting with one with whom he was afterwards destined to be very intimately connected. I omit some rather outspoken comments on some of his fellow guests.

D. October 18.—‘I received a very kind welcome both from the poet and his father, and have had much pleasure

from my evening's entertainment. There are a few ladies—nil—Mr. and Mrs. D'Israeli, a Mr. Venables and the Hon. W. Cowper. D'Israeli's conversation is far from striking, and there is too much striving to be epigrammatic, but he gives, or rather confirms, the idea I had from his writings that he is a clever man. He seems too vain and full of self-esteem to talk freely lest he should lose ground, but his remarks, on men especially, seem to me equally clever and just, though perhaps my agreement with them may lead me to think more highly of them than I should. Of R. M. Milnes I saw so little that I can write nothing. On the whole I am glad to meet such people, but it diminishes one's awe of such literary men, and urges one to form one's own opinions when one sees what little lions very clever men are.'

On November 9, after some negotiations and some searchings of heart he became the purchaser of 35 Eaton Square, but before he moved into it a serious illness attacked his father.

D. December 9.—'From the account it is paralysis, but I have only one account, and I hope from not having heard between yesterday morning and this time that no danger is apprehended.'

D. December 18.—'Probably the last night I shall ever spend at 8 Osnaburgh Terrace. God grant I may see as happy days elsewhere! Seven years have passed over us here without, or almost without, any calamity (Mr. Orr's death being the only one I call to mind). Certainly my dear father's attack has been a subject of grief during the last few days, but one does not associate it with this house, as I heard of it at York and saw the worst of it at Worthy. God be praised that he is so much better as by to-day's account he seems to be,

and may the same mercy restore him completely to his family! Whatever drawbacks there may have been to our happiness here I cannot expect another such seven years, but must, at the same time that I trust, nerve myself for what untoward events (as we call them) may be wisely ordered. Whatever be my fortune and however I may like my new abode, my eyes will often turn hither with the fondest and most endearing recollections. The first home of marriage, the birthplace of three children, the scene of the untiring unselfish love of my dear wife, surely no circumstances can ever make me forget it! Oh that I may look back with regret also at having so little improved my blessings, and pray for more grace for the time to come, that in a change of abode there may be a greater change of heart and life, and that I may know more of what a Christian should be!'

CHAPTER IV

BRADFORD ELECTION (1844—1847)

ON December 20 the young couple with their three children moved into 35 Eaton Square, which was destined to be their home for thirteen years. On the eve of the move Gathorne Hardy writes to his father: 'I shall feel at present like a cockle in a lobster shell.' Eaton Square was then about the southernmost point of the new district of Belgravia. His friend, Hugh Cairns, then a rising junior, was working at his briefs in a back room of No. 30, the house of his sister, Mrs. McCalmont, from 6 in the morning, and when he was Lord Chancellor in the 70's he told me that he was often disturbed at his work by the nightingales singing at the back. Four children were born here, of whom I was the first; and my birth is thus recorded in the Diary for February 27, 1845:

'I did not expect a boy, but he is welcome, poor little fellow, and may God bless him and his mother and may they never want the bite or the sup!'

Gathorne Hardy was now in comparatively easy circumstances; after the paralytic attack recorded in the last chapter, his father had made ample provision for all his three sons, and his own professional income was phenomenally large for one so recently called to the Bar.

D. June 12. — 'To-morrow my Parliamentary business comes to an end as far as I know, although I believe

I shall have some in the Lords. I have been very fortunate indeed, having already arrived at the sum of £1500 and upwards, a most unexpected and cheering result.'

Under these circumstances his early ambition for a Parliamentary career became more pronounced, and the entries in the Diary show an increasing interest in political events. Those were the stirring years when political feeling ran high. The hostility of the Protectionists, led by Disraeli and Lord George Bentinck, to Peel; and their coalition with the Radicals and Irish on the 'Coercion Bill' caused the downfall of Sir Robert's Government in 1846. The new Ministry did not find its position satisfactory, and the long Parliament of 1841 was dissolved in July 1847. At that election Gathorne Hardy for the first time became a candidate for the representation of his native town, Bradford, his father having become too infirm to continue his Parliamentary life. This momentous step in his career will need more detailed treatment; but I give first the intermediate entries in his diaries which indicate to some extent his political views which were never those of the Protectionists or extreme Tories. I have heard him say that his father was a free trader before Peel, and he himself inclined always to the same financial opinions. At the same time he was always an advocate of large toleration of differences on fiscal subjects, not only at the commencement of his political career or when fiscal heresies had become a mere matter of 'pious opinion,' but in those closing days of his life when Mr. Chamberlain raised the banner of fiscal reform and it became once more a burning question.

D. February 21.—'The political world is busy about the opening of T. Duncombe's letters, if opened they have been, and there has been some good debating. The personality is extreme, and the unfairness to Sir James Graham most abominable. However, there are exceptions on the Opposition

side who do him justice. Charles Buller rightly enough said that he seemed to have a love for unpopularity, and certainly there is nothing conciliatory about him. In this particular instance his oath restrained him, and had he acted otherwise he would have been attacked upon other grounds.'¹

D. November 20.—'On Tuesday we dined with the Cardwells and I passed a pleasant evening enough. Cardwell says a little too much of "we of the Treasury," but it is excusable after his immense good fortune, and, I must add, successful course in the House. He owes it to himself!

D. December 14.—'Political world frightened or startled from its long apathy by the resignation of Ministers. Lord John sent for, but can he form a Ministry? If he does form one can he hold his own? I am against him on both points. The Corn Laws will go of course, and I am ready to support this, and also to relieve land of its burdens.'

D. December 22.—'Political news very changeable. Lord John in on Friday, and out on Saturday! Peel again in office and forming a new, or reconstructing his old, Cabinet. Lord Wharnccliffe died on Friday morning, so that the West Riding is vacant, and we must wait to see what is the bone of contention. What will be the cry? Free trade of course, but query by both candidates if there are two? Are all other questions to sink to nothing before this? I could not so view the thing.'

D. January 29, 1846.—'Nothing is talked of but politics, and certainly there is much to talk about. Peel's bold avowal of a change of opinion, followed by his statement of the changes he is about to make in the customs as to corn

¹ Thomas Slingsby Duncombe, Member for Finsbury, on June 14 presented a petition from Mazzini and others complaining that their letters had been opened in the Post Office. Sir James Graham admitted this, which 'raised a storm of indignation.'—*Annual Register*.

and other things, has startled the agriculturists, but not dissatisfied the country. The Duke and others of the Cabinet, it seems, remain in to support him against their own opinions, as a duty to the Queen. The Duke's speech was very curious on that point.'

D. March 29.—'I wonder what course my life is to take? Cardwell was urging me yesterday to attempt Parliament, but for what place and with what interest am I to do it? Bradford closed for the next election; and no other place open. Wakefield might do, but I fear it is made safe for Dan Gaskell, and after all am I to give up Parliamentary business if it should fall in my way? Again what would my father say? All these things require great consideration. That I should like it I am pretty sure, but—as to duty?'

D. April 1.—'Well! yesterday I put the question to my father and found him more than willing that I should try to get a seat in Parliament, offering to pay for my doing so. The debate on the Coercion Act on Monday shows one how uncertain are Ministerial prospects, and how probable an early dissolution. I must therefore begin to look about me.'

D. April 7.—'Spoke to Marsden about Wakefield, but he did not hold out much hope for next time. I wonder whether I shall ever, as in childhood I wished, have M.P. tacked to my name? I wish I may be a useful and honest one if such be my lot.'

D. October 15.—'The prospect of famine ought to be the object of thought, and the way to aid those who will feel it considered. Ireland presents a gloomy view indeed.'

D. March 25, 1847.—'Yesterday the general fast¹; which we observed on bread and water only. I wish one's

¹ For the Irish Famine.

heart were as easily regulated as one's diet! However, my abstinence made me rather headachy.'

D. *March 30.*—'One piece of news, that Mozley, late Fellow of Oriel, is, or is to be, Editor of the *Times*, did rather surprise me; but Walter's approaching death, and the opinions of young Walter make it not so unlikely, especially if it be true that the old *Times* staff has gone off from it. Will its hold on the public be retained?'

D. *May 14.*—'The next news is that Cardwell is up for Oxford University, and with good prospect of success, which on the whole I wish him against Gladstone, *but I should have been glad to see a greater man than either member for such a constituency.*'

He had not long to wait after this before he himself became a candidate for Parliamentary honours. On May 19 he discussed with his father a letter just received from his brother Charles, announcing that Bradford would probably adopt him as the Conservative candidate. The draft of his letter in reply is still preserved, and runs as follows. It will be seen that he was asked to pledge himself to a strong Protestant platform, and declined to do so.

'MY DEAR CHARLES

'It is very gratifying to me to hear from you that recollections of the part which I have taken in former elections have led to the suggestion of my name as a candidate for the representation of Bradford. I may perhaps fairly judge from this that the general principles which I then put forward met with a response from those who have commissioned you to write to me on the subject, and I do not doubt that the opinions which I now entertain and upon which I should act are those which animate the Conservative electors of the borough. If this should prove

to be the case it would certainly be a cause of great pride to me to be spontaneously selected by them as their champion at the coming election, and should such a requisition be presented to me as would entitle me to expect success, I should not hesitate to accept the honourable charge.

‘But something more than a profession of principles is demanded of me. I feel it my duty at once to say that, though as an untried politician I have no past conduct to which I can appeal as a claim to confidence, still if that confidence is only to be secured by *a pledge* on any point whatever, I must, however reluctantly, forego the hope of attaining it.

‘If a pledge can reasonably be required and given upon one subject, I see no valid argument for refusing one on another, and I am quite sure that it is not for the interest of the constituency, nor for the honour of the member, that he should enter the house as a mere “instrument and mouth-piece” in short as a delegate. The limits of a letter would not suffice for the constitutional objections to a system of pledges, and I will not dwell upon them further than to add that he who is not bound by an honourable adherence to his professed principles, will find it even more easy to evade the obligation of a pledge, upon which different persons may put different interpretations.

‘To come however to the particular pledge to which my attention is called. I must, with great deference to those who propound it, observe that the very general terms in which it is couched would form a sufficient objection to it in my mind, even were I not resolved upon principle to decline giving any pledges at all. It seems to me that I should be debarred from, or materially crippled in, the exercise of my functions as a member of a deliberative assembly whenever any question affecting the Roman Catholics might be under discussion, and my view of the position which a member of

Parliament ought to occupy, is that he should be free to take an independent part on *all* the subjects which the complicated interests of this great empire must necessarily force on his consideration.

‘Let me not be misunderstood however as having expressed any opinion on the subject-matter of the pledge proposed, above all let me not be suspected of any wish to favour either the religious or political influence of Romanism, to which no one can be more diametrically opposed than myself. As a devoted member of the united Church of England and Ireland, and a sincere Protestant, my principles and intentions must be the same as those of the operative Conservatives of Bradford, and they may be well assured that my energies will be unremittingly devoted to the furtherance of objects alike dear to us all—I do not however think that these objects will be promoted by my disturbing existing settlements lately made by Parliament, unless after a fair trial they shall be found to have failed in their anticipated results. As the payment of the Romish priesthood is a question much agitated at present, I think it right to express my opinion that no sufficient argument has been adduced to make us depart from the principles upon which this country has hitherto acted, and that I am not prepared to grant money from the public Treasury for such a purpose.

‘As an ardent friend of education I rejoiced at the plan promulgated by the Committee of Privy Council as a practical scheme for the country, and I hope to see it fully and fairly carried out, but I must add my opinion that this can hardly be the case unless the Roman Catholics, among whose ranks may be found many of the poorest and most ignorant, are, under proper regulations admitted to a share in its benefits. I am not aware of any other question affecting the Roman Catholics, or I would frankly state my opinions respecting them.

'I do not know whether it is necessary for me to enter upon other topics, as upon most you know my sentiments. I am desirous to see Free Trade fairly tried, and therefore carried out as far as the claims of the Revenue will admit. I hope to see a less harsh Poor-law under a more gentle administration. Above all I am anxious during the lull of party strife that all should combine to ameliorate the social condition of the labouring classes, morally, mentally, and physically, and I trust that the shortened labours of the manufacturing population will afford facilities for such amelioration.

'I have written at some length as I felt it due to those for whom you acted to give full explanations, and I trust that they will not think me disrespectful in the course which I have thought myself bound in principle to adopt. Pray express my gratitude to them for their long support of my father, and for their desire that I should succeed him, and be placed in so honourable a position as that of representative of my native town, and at the same time say that that gratitude will not be diminished though, in the discharge of what they consider their conscientious duty at the present juncture, they should be unwilling to send me to Parliament in the only character in which I am ambitious to appear there—an independent, unfettered, and unpledged Member.'

A very brief summary of the political events of the time will serve to indicate the chaotic condition into which the party system had drifted. In May of the preceding year Peel had carried his Free Trade legislation by majorities of 98 in the Commons and 47 in the Lords, but the defeated Protectionists soon found an opportunity of revenge, and the 'Coercion Bill' for Ireland was defeated by a majority of 73, the followers of Cobden and the 'aristocratic flower of the Tory party' finding themselves

for once in the same lobby. Sir Robert Peel's resignation was announced on June 29, when he was succeeded by Lord John Russell and his Whig following, his attempt to enlist Peelite recruits having proved a failure. All through the spring of 1847 it was obvious that a dissolution was at hand, and the constituencies everywhere were on the alert and preparing for the inevitable struggle. As regards Bradford, it is curious to notice how little influence Free Trade and Protection seem to have had on the election. The numerous documents which have been preserved indicate clearly that the burning question which led to Gathorne Hardy's defeat was an echo of the controversy of 1845, when Peel introduced the Grant to Maynooth, and recommended the policy 'of extending and improving the opportunities of academical education in Ireland.' Writing in 1872 Gathorne Hardy 'cannot but notice how bitter I was at that time against Popery, not seeing anything in it but idolatry—I do not like it now, but there are good sides to it'; but strong as his prejudices were, they were as nothing compared with those of the No Popery party in Bradford, and his sense of justice and independence of character prevented him from giving way to pressure. I am tempted to insert here an anecdote which illustrates in an amusing way the religious controversies of the period. In June of the previous year, 1846, he entertained at dinner William Marsh, a great light of the Protestant party, and Dr. Grant, of the Scotch College at Rome. Marsh, he writes:

(D.) 'foolishly introduced controversy and specially protested against the interpretation of the passage, "Thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build my Church," saying that the second Petros had no relation to the former. Dr. Grant took it well, and I remember rather appealed to me, and laughed heartily at my illustration in his favour, "If anyone said to you, 'Thou art Marsh, and on this morass I shall build,' I should think he meant you.'"

His letter of the 19th was thought satisfactory by the Chairman of the Conservatives of Bradford, but he was asked further to define the proper regulations under which he would admit Roman Catholics to the Education Grant. His answer shows how strongly then, as all through his life, he advocated religious and denominational education, and the right of parents to a voice in the matter.

May 27, 1847

'The principle of the Minutes is that *without religion* education is ineffective, and the design of them is to ensure true education without infringing the rights of conscience or the maxims of toleration. The recognition of the doctrines taught by the Church of England involves no difficulty, and with respect to her schools all is simple and straightforward. But when the State has to deal with schools belonging to other religious bodies, sound principle on her part, and conscientious objection on theirs, prevents recognition of, and inference with, the peculiar doctrinal instruction there given. The laws of toleration prohibit us from stepping between the parent and his child in this matter, but we refuse to aid him in general education unless we have some guarantee that he has done and is doing his duty in religious education. So far we are guarded against supporting infidel establishments, against which indeed the general and free use of the Bible by Protestant Dissenters is a sufficient security. Apply this to the Roman Catholics. Whether we wish it or not, they will bring up their children in their own faith, and we cannot interfere to prevent it. Ought we not, as far as we can consistently with principle, to aid their general education, in the hope that they may thus become less ignorant, and thereby less superstitious slaves than they are of the priesthood? Every Protestant must at least

admit that the sanctions of the Roman Catholic creed tend more to morality than the absence of all; and these we secure by the same system of certificates as in the case of Protestant Dissenters. In giving public money however to the Roman Catholics for educational purposes their peculiar system and peculiar organisation demand on our part unusual precautions.

'1. Not to entangle ourselves in any recognition of their religious teachers except—

'2. To require the use of the Bible, in a version without note or comment.

'3. To guard against any misuse of the funds supplied for proselytising or other purely Roman Catholic purposes—e.g. salaries to priests who could not otherwise be maintained, establishment of schools where there is not a Roman Catholic population existing, support of monastic or Conventual houses, and others of the same kind.

'This I give as a general outline of the sort of precautions that should be made in granting money for Roman Catholic Education. I give my opinion as it has been formed on reflection without communication with any other person, but such precautions seem to me sufficient to enable us without any sacrifice of principle to carry out a plan of education for the whole population of the Kingdom.'

These letters were submitted to the meeting of his party on May 29, and quite approved, and he was accepted as candidate and a requisition circulated for signature, but although this was numerously signed, there soon came a letter 'from a most influential constituent commanding many votes,' indicating rocks ahead. The name of the writer is one still well known and respected in Yorkshire, but I will leave it undisclosed. The letter, asking an

interview which took place in London on June 12, is undated, and contains the following passages:

‘Your two letters have been put into my hands.

‘Some gentlemen in whose judgments I have great respect, think that it is very desirable that there should be a perfect understanding between us, so that there should be no division amongst the Conservative electors of Bradford, and I am most anxious that there should be none. The point upon which I fear we may differ, is the question of Popery, which is now so insidiously working in this country, endangering our civil and religious liberty, and also the Protestant throne of the Realms—I do hope that such an explanation of your views may be given as will enable me to join hand in hand with you at the next and future elections for Bradford. Let us raise the honest and good old cry of “No Popery” and the institutions of our Protestant country are safe from the grasp of the Pope, and the Oath of Allegiance may be taken by conscientious Protestants . . .

‘If I am to be misrepresented I wish it to be done in the grossest manner by some one whose extravagance and vulgarity will render him innocuous, and therefore not by you.’

The interview duly took place, and its unsatisfactory results are thus recorded in the Diary:

D. June 12.—‘Had a long interview with Mr. — whose opinions are the most extreme I ever heard of. The R.C. religion, he says at once, is worse than none, and in no way whatever ought we to give rights to persons holding it. He wished me to give up my opinion in favour of their sharing in the education grant, or not to vote at all, both of

which I peremptorily declined. He came again the next day to see if I had been moved, but reflection only strengthened my repugnance to his ultra notions.'

On June 14 he writes to his agent with reference to this interview :

'It is with much regret that I inform you that, after a long interview with Mr. — yesterday, I was unable to satisfy him upon one point, which he considers so vital that he declines to support me. It is on the question of assisting Roman Catholic schools which was indeed the only subject discussed on which we differ. I hold that by aiding their schools and confining our supervision to secular instruction, we do not countenance their religious errors. Knowing that those errors will be taught to R.C. children, we cannot prevent it, but we endeavour to awaken their reasoning powers. . . . Mr. —, as it seems to me, holds the R.C. religion to be as bad or worse than none at all—gives it no credit for enforcing morality, and in fact would treat those who hold it as an outcast sect, as obnoxious civilly and religiously as lepers are physically. I cannot, with all my abhorrence of Popery, put the larger part of Christendom under such a ban, nor can I look upon the Church of Fénelon, Pascal, and Massillon, as nothing better than a horrid school of abominations. We are to admit Socinians to share the educational grant ; I hold subtraction from the word of God as grievous a sin as addition to it, and if I imagined that I were sanctioning either their heresies or those of the Romanists by assisting them in their schemes of education in the mode proposed by the minutes, I should become as earnest in opposition as I now am in support of them. All safeguards, all restrictions, Mr. — considers as thrown away in dealing with Romanists, and he objects to placing one

farthing in their hands, however we may fetter them in the use of it. I imagine that sufficient restrictions may be enforced, but if not, then I cease to support the grant. Mr. — as a last resource asked if I would agree not to vote at all on such a question. I replied that, if, at the time a matter were discussed, I had no formed opinion, I might be neutral, but I should lose my self-respect and the esteem of my friends if I were to shrink from acting where my duty seemed clear upon the point at issue. I never could consent to abdicate any part of my functions, still less to sell them beforehand for support however valuable. I wish you to know definitely what the views are upon which Mr. — and I sever. I do not at all complain of him, as I believe he really wished to assist me if he could consistently with his opinions, which are stronger in kind and in degree than any which ever came under my notice.

‘At the wish of my friends I shall, I believe, soon be down among them to explain my views, and I trust that they will if dissatisfied with what I have explained in letters reserve their judgment till they have heard me. After that let me be weighed in a fair balance and if I cannot unite the Conservatives, or rather the Constitutionalists, of Bradford let me not stand in the way of men more suited to their wants. I shall at least retire with a good conscience.’

To this letter his agent replies, evidently frightened at the defection of so prominent a member of the party:

‘I will now take the liberty to say that with the great mass of Conservative electors both Church and Wesleyan this is *the* great question, and to profess a willingness to assist Romanist schools which prohibit the use of the Scriptures would prevent any Conservative candidate having the slightest chance of success at Bradford.’

It is remarkable that, often as I have heard my father refer to his failure in this his first Parliamentary contest, he never hinted at the real cause of his defeat, yet the documents really leave no doubt that the loss of the election was due to his refusal to temporise upon this one point. On July 27 another 'influential Conservative' writes :

'I cannot give you support in view of your willingness to allow the use of Roman Catholic versions of the Bible under a National system of education. I dare not myself be a party in however remote a degree to disseminating error wittingly, nor dare I presumptuously to expect that God would mercifully provide an antidote to any poison I might administer.'

If these were the prejudices expressed by educated men in high position, it can hardly be wondered at that voters of a lower and less educated class were swayed by the same considerations. Certain it is, that many who had signed the requisition to Hardy and Wickham voted the other way or abstained; and the declaration of the poll on July 31 showed the following result :

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|----------|---|---|---|---|-----|
| Busfeild | . | . | . | . | 937 |
| Thompson | . | . | . | . | 926 |
| Wickham | . | . | . | . | 860 |
| Hardy | . | . | . | . | 812 |

I will not quote from the notes and reports of the young candidate's speeches. He dwelt much on the Poor Law, which he afterwards did so much to reform, and education, in which he always took so deep an interest. He himself never regretted that he did not at this first attempt obtain a seat in the House of Commons. His only comment in his Summary of his journals is as follows :

S.—'In May invited to stand for Bradford, and after some correspondence a regular requisition was presented.

I do not regret in looking back that I failed. The independence which I had when I came into Parliament was invaluable.'

A few extracts from his Diary of the time will complete the history of this episode in his career :

D. June 23, 1847.—'I begin a new volume with events which may lead me to a great change in life. A political career may be before me and if so I only trust that I may be able to make it an honest one, not guided by self-interest but public benefit. On the 21st went on to Bradford, and harangued a large and most respectable meeting by whom we were very well received. I spoke for an hour, principally on the education question, on the Rom. Cath. part of which I found there was some difference of opinion ; but there did not appear to be any dissentient to my view in the meeting. I did not feel to myself to speak with the force which I ought to have done, but I was not at all nervous.'

D. June 27.—'The *Leeds Intelligencer* gives a puff to my speech—as indeed does the *Bradford Observer* which anticipates *hereafter* giving me its support as a *Liberal*. "Honesty and ingenuity" are qualities which it is something to have admitted by an adversary.'

D. July 11.—'J. A. Busfeild told me in the train yesterday that there was an impression that I did not wish to be returned. I will set that right at all events.'

D. July 25.—'On Friday night we addressed the electors at the Oddfellows' Hall. We used no exertions to get our friends there but left it quite open to all and yet had a most enthusiastic meeting. H. W. [Henry Wickham] spoke first and I followed, and was most warmly received and applauded throughout. I felt at ease in speaking, though of course there were many parts which on reflection I could

wish to have put more forcibly; still what I said seemed to come home to them all. . . . Yesterday we began, soon after 9, a toilsome walk up by Undercliffe to the very limits of the borough, and for very little object. We wasted time and strength by it, as the morning was hotter than usual. In the evening we were sent on a fool's errand into the market, and after that into Victoria St., the gloomy resort of all the Scotch dissenting pedlars. We did not complete our work until nine in the evening and were all heartily tired. The writ arrived in the afternoon and the election was at once proclaimed for Thursday, so that the polling will be on Friday next. Poor Jane has been hesitating about coming here, but I think she will hardly be able to keep away, and in her note of this morning speaks of coming on Tuesday. I almost wish she may not, as I am sure she will be greatly excited by the contest. Well! whatever be the result, all, as far as I know, has been honourably conducted, and no one can charge us with anything corrupt or unfair. The want of drink, and our not having our Committee in an Inn, cools some of our friends, but it is the right course and we cannot help the result. Had there been but one Conservative candidate his success would have been certain.'

D. August 2.—'On Monday we addressed a small body of people at Bowling and on Wednesday had another meeting of the same kind at Horton where I was most thoroughly catechised and answered very plainly. On Thursday we breakfasted at the New Inn, and thence went to the Committee room to form our line of march to the hustings. We had an enormous audience, and the show of hands against us. I believe I spoke loudly enough to be heard nearly to the extremity of the crowd. The absence of music and

banners affected the show, but the masses of people were very imposing. Ours was at least a most respectable crowd, and was admirably drilled and very well behaved ; we had no cause to grumble at the few interruptions we sustained. Jane, Kate, and the girls, were on a wall at the top of the field, and saw well but could not hear much. We dined at Bradford, and, I was going to add, slept there, but the constant row in the streets was a pretty good preventive to sleep. I am afraid there was some queer work going on. Friday came the poll and H. W. and I stayed at the Talbot, receiving the news each half-hour. Our opponents played an artful trick at half-past ten, putting us 2 or 3 ahead and advancing the numbers polled by about a hundred to each of us, evidently to mislead us about those who had voted. It had its effect for a short time, but Lamplugh's skill in keeping returns is tested by his near approach to accuracy as compared with the returning officer's declaration. The polling was animated up to the last moment, and even at 3 o'clock it was thought that Henry had a chance, though mine was over. Bitter and ill concealed was the sorrow of our friends, but when the excitement of hope and fear was over we settled down wonderfully. We walked to the Talbot and took our farewell of our supporters who mustered strong in the street below. Henry and Lamplugh dined with us at Lowmoor and we none of us showed much depression except poor Kate, who had a fainting fit, but soon got over it. Such was Bradford election, which I think will not have injured me in any sense of the word, nor am I sure but that it has turned out in the best way for me. I feel most for my ardent zealous friends. I have acquired more confidence and have met with more respect from friends and opponents daily. The number polled is very great, but, had our requisitionists stood true,

we should have occupied a very different position and one, if not both, must have succeeded. We left Odsall at 9 next morning never to forget Charles's kindness, for he has indeed acted like a brother, finding nothing troublesome so that he could advance my cause.'

D. November 19.—' On Wednesday evening we went to hear "Elijah" and were much pleased, though my head was aching too much to admit of thorough enjoyment. The Dead March in "Saul," which was played in memory of Mendelssohn who had just died at the early age of thirty-six with a European reputation, gratified me as much as any part of the performance. Parliament met yesterday! I confess I should have liked to be among them, sed "D's aliter visum!" All, no doubt, is for the best.'

CHAPTER V

LIFE AT THE BAR (1847—1856)

THE record of the next eight years, although the diaries consist of three quarto volumes containing upwards of 1250 closely written pages, may be compressed into a small compass. Gathorne Hardy's professional progress during this period was continuous and encouraging, and by 1855 he had acquired a complete lead on Sessions, and so considerable a practice, not merely at the Parliamentary bar, but also in the *Nisi Prius* courts in London and on circuit, that he felt justified in seeking a silk gown and the position of a leader. There were of course ups and downs, the commercial and financial depression of 1848, the reaction against railway speculation and the fall of Hudson the 'Railway King,' a client, caused for a time some anxiety, but when his father died he was in the enjoyment of professional income of some £5000 a year. It seems odd to me in these days that he should not have obtained, as of right, the small promotion to which he aspired. He was most regular and diligent in his attendance on circuit, and often gave up work in the Committee rooms in order to go to York, Bradford, or Leeds. His great and distinguished career as a statesman has obliterated the recollection of his professional success, but I was surprised to read in the obituary notice in a great London journal on the occasion of his death that 'he was called to the Bar but never practised.' 'As I run over my old journals,' he writes in 1882, 'I am astonished at the amount of locomotion which I went through, and wonder how I endured it so long.' My own childish



Photo: Emery Walker.]

GATHORNE HARDY, IN HIS FORTY-THIRD YEAR.

*(From the Chalk Drawing by George Richmond in the
National Portrait Gallery.)*

memories, which begin to gather shape during this period, are of his constant coming and going, and of the delight with which we children looked forward to his flying visits, the songs he used to sing us, and the reading aloud, which his sympathetic voice and instinctive love of all that was best in literature, rendered such a treat. The holidays spent in the country were of course the times during which we saw most of him. Casterton, near Kirkby Lonsdale, in Westmoreland, the Hermitage near Woking, Fawley Rectory near Henley, where my two brothers had a narrow escape from drowning, and then a more permanent resting-place, Green End, not far from Berkhamstead in Hertfordshire, were the scenes of these happy gatherings. The first of these places I remember well, but as we were there not only in 1848 but also in 1851 when I was six years old, it is probably this second visit which I recall. Our quarters at Casterton were first the Rectory and then the Hall, both the property of old Mr. Carus Wilson, the founder of the Lowood school for the daughters of the clergy so ruthlessly pilloried by Charlotte Brontë in 'Jane Eyre.' It had great attractions for my father, for it was close to Grimeshill, the home of his cousin William Moore, where for many years he joined in the grouse shooting on the fell with small results but great enjoyment. No picture of him would be complete which did not depict him as an ardent sportsman. His diaries are full of his shooting exploits, and the very moderate bags recorded in the 40's and 50's seem to have afforded as keen pleasure as the hecatombs of a later period. The rushing Lune ran close to the house, and provided some fishing, and excellent bathing, of which he was fond. He was a first-rate swimmer. It was there that he enjoyed the otter hunt of which a vivid description appears in his diary for 1851.

D. September 12, 1851.—'We then walked to Kirkby bridge and sat on the rocks, but my sketch-book was soon put aside when I heard the music of the otter hounds, and began

to see them appearing on each projecting rock, awakening the echoes with their cry. Of course I joined in, and found R. Goodenough and Aylmer Greene in the train already. Even Stewart forgot his ailment in the excitement! They had followed on scent from the mouth of the Wenning, and were still ascending the stream. As we passed just below Casterton we ran up for lunch, and then joined in again above the stony island where the otter was in view; and very enlivening the scene was, as he kept rising to the surface or was seen gliding beneath. Then to make a glorious finish, he made a dash down stream, and came into the beautiful still pool just opposite the steps at Underley, one of the most beautiful spots in the whole course of the river; and there, not unavenged, as many a limping hound testified, at length died, but I never saw an animal so tenacious of life. Certainly one could not have seen the otter hunt in greater perfection, and the victim was a noble one weighing nearly 30 pounds.'

One or two of the entries in the previous year also refer to sport, and may find a place here. It seems strange to read of snipe, and game in abundance, even blackgame, in a part of Surrey where villas and golf courses are now plentiful. The Hermitage, where he was staying in 1849, was quite close to Woking.

D. August 1, 1849.—'On Saturday went in the morning snipe shooting with no great success, but with the means of judging of future prospects which are agreeable. There will be plenty of snipe shooting if nothing else, but I dare say the partridges will not be deficient.'

D. August 19.—'I did not get to church in the morning but went this afternoon, but I still feel rather wretched, and doubt my fitness for blackgame shooting to-morrow.'

D. August 31.—‘ On Monday the 20th went out early, but had no shots although I saw one black cock.’

D. October 10.—‘ I went out sniping, and, till exhausted for want of food, shot well. We got eight brace of snipe and Jack.’

One more sporting entry, this time of an earlier date, may serve to amuse a generation ignorant of the dangers of muzzle-loaders.

D. October 24, 1847.—‘ Out shooting with John and Charles in Dennabey wood, on my way to which I killed a woodcock, and in which I slew a hare with my ramrod and rather injured my gun. It was a stupid trick after firing it away once before this season ! Such a moon ! poachers may rejoice in it. By the way I was after one to-day, which proved to be a cow, which in its career through the plantation let off a maroon and drew me to the spot in the belief that I was going to catch someone.’

It can be readily imagined what a treat it was to be permitted to join any of these sporting expeditions, and we soon began to enjoy that privilege. I can remember ‘ helping him ’ when snigging for eels in the flooded Lune. As no hook was employed, the bait being a large bunch of worms threaded on worsted, in which the teeth of the eels became entangled, many used to slip off and wriggle back towards the water, and it was ‘ fearful joy ’ to pick up and endeavour to hold them. Another vivid memory of the time is of the appearance of my father’s great friend John Blossett Maule, afterwards the first Public Prosecutor, dripping from an immersion in the flooded river. He had walked over from the station, and, mistaking the ford, had been washed off his feet, and had to swim for his life. He was a frequent and welcome visitor and a kind friend to us boys.

Green End in Hertfordshire we occupied for three years, 1852, 1853 and 1854, and we used sometimes to drive there from London over John Gilpin's well-known roads as far as Ware. It was held on a more permanent tenure than previous holiday quarters, money being by that time more abundant. Probably we might have remained there even longer, but for a misunderstanding with our landlord. A dishonest agent, to whom my father had paid the rent in advance, had appropriated it, and my father, the most punctilious of men in money matters, at once gave notice, on hearing of the suspicion which had been entertained that he had been backward in his payments. I will now give some extracts from the diaries, grouped as to their subjects. The political allusions throughout indicate the deep interest with which he studied public affairs.

D. February 6, 1848.—'Chambers till 3. Compton came to ask me to sign an anti-Jew petition, but I declined. I cannot feel strongly about it; when Church and State cease to be synonymous or identical, great difficulty arises in opposing such measures. Truth is but one after all! and when all errors but one are admissible to civil rights, and one is not prepared to roll back the tide, one wave the more seems to have its right of admission with the rest. Jews will not be more hostile to the Church than many nominal Christians. Still one must see that the separation of Church and State becomes a very imminent question. I jot down thoughts ill expressed, but when I have more time I hope to analyse my views on these subjects more thoroughly.'

D. September 26.—'The chief conversation was as to poor Lord George Bentinck's death, which was very sudden. It seems he was walking to Lord Manvers's to dine, and died by the way, not being found for some hours. He was an extraordinary man, and though he may have been

mistaken, seems to have been honest and most industrious, in fact I fancy his industry killed him.'

D. November 25.—'West Riding Election. I had a note from Charles saying the Bradford people would invite Dennison, and late last night an answer came from Wortley, telling me that Dennison very unwillingly consented to stand if the Whips would support him. This I think they are sure to do, so that a contest is now inevitable. Dear Charles has twice put it to me whether I would stand; looking at me in the light of his affection it may seem feasible to him, to me it looks like the extreme of presumption and would do me great injury. I think even Roebuck's attempt to palm himself off on such a constituency unasked was a piece of vanity and arrogance.'

D. February 9, 1849.—'I forgot to record in my last annals that I had been solicited for a subscription to the Bradford registration, which, whether wisely or unwisely I hardly know, I refused. My ground was that I had no prospect of being a candidate, and that I am not an elector, that these expenses properly belong to the constituency, and if they were zealous for their opinions they would pay them.'

The next entry refers to Lord Stanley's failure to form a Ministry, after Lord John Russell's defeat on Locke King's County Franchise Bill and subsequent resignation.

D. March 4, 1851.—'On Saturday after going to chambers returned home to lunch, taking with me the news of the night before—Lord Stanley's failure, but his high-minded character and conduct were never more shewn than in his statement to the House. Though one may not agree with him, he is a fine fellow, Graham in one house and Aberdeen in another avow the Papal Bill to be the stumbling-block. It is clear to me that with some Peelites this is no matter

of principle, but all are not Cardwells. To conclude the political matters, we hear to-day that Lord John last night avowed his return to office by the Duke's advice to the Queen, and on Friday will let us know his intentions. So for three weeks we have been in hot water to boil a shrimp !'

D. February 27, 1848.—'The papers are full of the Paris Revolution. On Tuesday the reform banquet was to have taken place—it was prohibited by proclamation—the leaders determined to submit and counselled obedience, but Paris rose, and Louis Philippe, who was then a king with 100,000 men in arms around him, is now a fugitive, and has abdicated ; even his dynasty has ceased to rule, as it seems by the last accounts that the Comte de Paris has been rejected ! Strange turn of affairs ! how he must have miscalculated ! At first the soldiers were good-humoured by orders, and successes were gained by the populace, then the National Guard joined them, regulars would not fight the National Guard, and though there must have been some severe fighting the accounts are too imperfect to judge by whom on the King's part. Now the Palais Royal and Tuileries are sacked, and a Provisional Government installed : Arago, Lamartine, Ledru Rollin, and other republicans. What a nemesis on Louis Philippe ! I hope Guizot may escape or have escaped, as his life would not be worth a moment's purchase. The animosity to him passes all bounds, and " La tête de Guizot " seems to have been one of the great cries ! Such is France ! When is it to be at rest ? What effect this will have on Italy and even upon us, I fear to think. A fraternising revolutionary government so close may indeed be mischievous. Ireland ! What will people say to national defences now ? The Republic must use its armies or they will soon bring it to an end. Unfortunately there has been no post in from Paris for some

days, so that the accounts are not what they might be. Where will it end ? ’

D. March 9.—‘ I have good news from my dear wife and children, who will return to town to-morrow. I hope all the rows which have disgraced it (a set of thieves imitating the French émeute as a means of seizing property and breaking windows here) are over, and that no alarms will disturb Eaton Square. Glasgow has been really in trouble, but it was a cowardly mob of petty larceners, though they had seized arms. A volley from fifteen pensioners, after long endurance, put an end to the outbreak. What mischief these French humbugs are doing for an ideal good which can never be realised ! Communism is fast sapping credit, and that gone, poverty and its attendant disasters will fall upon a disappointed people, and frightful may be the consequences.’

D. March 12.—‘ Nothing new but the proclamation of Carnot, Minister of Public Instruction, to the schoolmasters of France to teach the electors that the greatest error is to imagine that either education or fortune are necessary to a representative.’

D. March 25.—‘ My unbelief in the King of Prussia’s abdication and the Austrian republic is confirmed by facts, great ferments in both countries ending in great concessions which seem to have given general satisfaction. In fact there is a world-wide spread of liberal opinions, and I think the Germans seem to have sound hearts and not to wish to run into violent extremes. How thankful we may be for the lot which makes us live here where freedom is consolidated ! The Reform Bill and the repeal of the Corn Laws now stand us in stead ! ’

The next reference is to the Chartist alarm.

D. April 11.—‘First let me express my thankfulness that I have heard from Jane this morning that London was quiet, in spite of all threatenings. I grieve that I was not there, as my presence would have been a comfort to her. The streets barricaded, not by, but against, the mob—artillery and troops everywhere. From her account, however, it seems that some of the mob had pikes. There have been meetings daily and nightly here and hereabouts, and yesterday I saw a procession in Bradford, and a very scurvy affair it was, with some calico tricolor flags. I fear, however, that disaffection increases in intensity and extent, and so all seem to think who live among the people; the outbreak will come, and some say the sooner the better as the suspense is more damaging and harassing than anything.’

D. May 22, 1849.—‘On our way through the park stopped to see the Queen pass on her way home from her drive with three of her children. A few minutes after, as she went down Constitution Hill a scoundrel presented a pistol and fired towards her, I cannot say at her, for it appears that there was no bullet in. He was seized, and seems to admit it was done for notoriety. The occurrence has only called forth an outbreak of loyalty; and I believe the Queen has not suffered, though a mother with her children around her might well have her nerves shaken by such an event. Sir Robert Peel’s Act will for the first time be put in force, and this Hamilton will get a notoriety not to be coveted.’¹

D. November 14.—‘The Mannings were executed yesterday with the usual brutal crowd. Could not executions be before certain officials, otherwise private?’

D. May 27, 1850.—‘On Saturday we all went to see the

¹ This attempt was made by a man giving the name of William Hamilton of Adair, County Limerick. The Queen showed her usual courage and self-possession. Hamilton pleaded guilty to the act, and was sentenced to seven years’ transportation.

new Houses of Parliament. They certainly are very grand as a whole, and the octagon hall, the lobby of the House of Lords, the Libraries, &c., are very beautiful. The House of Commons struck me as very small for the numbers who will use it.'

D. July 2.—'The papers bring news of a sad accident to Sir Robert Peel. This, the assaults on the Queen, and Ministers' majority of 46, the great topics.'

D. July 4.—'Poor Sir Robert Peel's career has had a melancholy close. He never rallied from the injuries caused by his fall of Saturday, and at 11 on Tuesday night breathed his last! What a loss to the country! I believe all feel it deeply. Animosities are forgotten, and what he has done, which has been offensive to a party, is overlooked in the recollection of the great things he has done for his country. One hardly sees yet the vast importance of this event in politics, but it must exercise a great influence. On Wednesday the House adjourned without proceeding to business out of respect for his memory.'

D. May 2, 1851.—'The great day is over' (that of the opening of the first Great Exhibition) 'and we were well repaid for our season tickets by one of the most beautiful sights I ever beheld. It is a triumph for Prince Albert indeed, and the day was made for an opening, the sun giving singular effect to the airy lightness of the fabric and the mixed flowers and flower-like ladies. The colours were most gratifying to the eye, and I cannot speak of the whole thing without amazement as well as delight.'

D. June 12.—'Off in good time to the French Play. The piece was truly French, *Adrienne Lecouvreur*, a strange medley! Rachel is certainly very fine, and has a most thrilling voice, but the great death scene had not the true tragic effect on me! It was more of horror than pity one

felt. But for good acting the play would be very flat indeed. I would rather see her in a higher order of tragedy. Her recitation is admirable, as was shewn in the passages she had to quote in her part. On the whole I was rather disappointed.'

D. December 5.—'On my way to the club saw the first notice of Louis Napoleon's bold stroke for power. Certainly in its execution it has been a masterly movement, as none seem to have suspected, and the most complete success attended all that he attempted. The result, however, no one can yet foresee, though hitherto, except the one small attempt to raise barricades on Wednesday, nothing has appeared to shew any strong feeling against him. We are ill qualified to judge of the effect on the French mind of such a complete breach of the constitution made when he was elected, but they whose constitutions are so ephemeral view their demolition rather as an exciting drama or spectacle in which they have only the interest of spectators. The army from all accounts is devoted to the President, but will he be able to keep it so without occupying it in war, and if he ceases to depend on it, how can he complain of any coup d'état against himself? Certainly there are strong suspicions that Thiers, Changarnier, and others are organising one, and at all events no one cares what happens to Thiers, and all rejoice at his imprisonment. Well! we must leave it to time to form a fair judgment!'

D. December 11.—'The French affairs seem settled after bloody work in Paris. I should not like to have that blood on my soul!'

D. January 30, 1852.—'Public news is not much except of the successive atrocities of Louis Napoleon. All the world talks of invasion, which should be provided against, as, though not probable, it is very possible if tried.'

D. September 17.—‘Heard for the first time of the death of our great Duke. He died at Walmer at 3 o'clock in the afternoon after a few hours' illness. The event will cause a shock through the nation, though it must have been anticipated at an early period, and it is better he should die while his intellect was active and his bodily powers in a great measure undecayed, than waste away in imbecility. He was a truly great man, for he always acted from duty. The *Times* writes his character well and strikingly, and friends and enemies alike must admit its truth.'

D. November 13.—‘Jane and I were off first thing to see the lying in state, which was a gorgeous spectacle in admirable taste. We saw it with the greatest ease, an hour seeing us out and back again.'

D. November 17.—‘London is a positive nuisance, the hammering, the carrying timber to and fro, the crowds, the rain, have made it intolerable. Happily the pageant is now near at hand and all will soon resume its usual state. Can it be right to make all this parade for the dead? For many it is a mere excuse for extortion.'

D. November 19.—‘Wednesday was a day of doubt what we should do, but ended in a resolve, in which I now much rejoice, that Charles, Carey, and myself would go to St. Paul's. We did so at an early hour reaching the doors at half-past six. They were in a different gallery from me, so there we separated, and I with Warren and his son, after a longish wait, got to the very front of the central gallery and saw everything. A most imposing spectacle it was, baffling description, and the moment of lowering the coffin affected all to tears. Never did I see so striking a scene! All the grandeur of earth around, and that sublime service reminding all of what they really were. All was over at a quarter to three.'

D. October 5, 1854.—‘The public news of the defeat of the Russians at Alma, though with heavy loss, is a glorious thing, and more so if it has led to the taking of Sebastopol. The enthusiasm in London seems to have been immense. No *details* at present, and the Duke of Newcastle says not to be expected till the 6th.’

D. October 8.—‘Walked with Cairns in the afternoon talking much of the news from the Crimea which is not quite satisfactory. How it ought to shame the arrogant writers who take Sebastopol daily with their pens! Nothing shocks me more than the spirit shewn by them. It seems to call for a Nemesis.’

D. March 3, 1855.—‘I almost wonder I can have written so much without putting down the great news of the death of the Czar Nicholas yesterday forenoon. It was announced in Parliament at 5 and I knew it at Leeds about 6.30! What miraculous speed from St. Petersburg hither! Who will venture to predict the consequences? Let us hope and pray they may be for the welfare of mankind. How does such an event baffle the combinations and calculations of men!’

All through this period Gathorne Hardy was making steady progress in his profession. His position and prospects were excellent, and he was in receipt of a very large professional income when his father's death left him independent of the Bar. The details of his travels on sessions and circuit and of his cases occupy a very large portion of the journals and he also notes that he earned a little money by reporting. I give a few entries only.

D. December 11, 1848.—‘York. Maule has been exhibiting his antics in a way calculated to bring public justice into contempt, and yet he is so amusing that one cannot but laugh.’

D. December 22.—‘Yesterday the Ashton Chartist case came on, and ended, as I think, in a most unfair verdict, after a most unreasonable summing up. The case lasted a long time. I spoke for the four young men entrusted to me, and Phipps in his reply gave up two which probably rather damaged me, as the four most likely would have been acquitted together. Maule threw all his weight, and with unusual heaviness, into the scale against me, and I felt my chance gone, though all said I ought to have got them off, and thought they were safe. The jury deliberated an hour and a half, and then found Overend’s four men guilty, and my remaining two also guilty, but added a strong recommendation to mercy, a compromise as I suspect. Sentence not passed.’

D. February 14, 1849.—‘As I went (to chambers) I found Ingham is the new police magistrate, and determined to congratulate. Heard that he had been at my chambers, so went to his and found him in high spirits. He was complimentary to me, and if his auguries prove true I shall be a most fortunate person. I ought now to have a chance at all events. I think he has done well in getting such an appointment, as it will probably suit him.’ (Sir James Ingham lived to be Chief Magistrate.)

D. April 18, 1850.—‘On Monday, as it was very wet, took cab to Westminster to see my Lord Campbell on the Bench. He looked far younger and better than I anticipated, and in excellent spirits. Kelly moved for a prohibition in Gorham’s case on the ground of want of jurisdiction in the Privy Council, saying that the Appeal should have been to the Upper House of Convocation as the Crown was interested.’

D. July 13.—‘I must record the last Whig job! Wilde Chancellor! to make room for Jervis, whose promotion

opens a reward for Cockburn's party speech on the Palmerston question. He, honest man, is Solicitor-General. Wilde is not of acuteness, activity, and quickness enough for Lord Chancellor, let alone learning, but it is said he was a very honest barrister, and might have been twice as rich if he would have taken fees when he did not work like —. Fancy Jervis a Chief! Fancy Cockburn a Chief in prospect!

D. September 30, 1851.—'I have had a few droppings for Sessions, which look as if one was getting into the lead.'

D. March 11, 1853.—'A very small cause list and very moderate calendar have not made me sink low in number of briefs. Out of 27 West Riding cases I have 3 common and 3 special juries, an enormous advance if it could be maintained.'

D. May 11.—'The Halifax case being adjourned, and Price helping me, I got through the day famously. There seems a fatal ease in getting through Parliamentary difficulties which encourages recklessness in receiving briefs. I gave Mr. Heron of Manchester every opportunity of committing his to other hands.'

D. August 10, Liverpool.—'A strange revelation I have had of the system of bribery by which trade is pushed. A business beginning on a capital of £3000, in a very few years turning over its hundreds of thousands, paying a thousand a week wages, and all done by determined pushing, and unscrupulous corruption of railway servants and others! Some day it will be exposed and many a fair name sullied. Presents of wine, brandy, and cigars, perhaps a more scrupulous person may accept, but money is given in its coarsest form, and received without compunction, though conscience sometimes begs to have a cloak in the shape of a bill or note never meant to be negotiated. I have

sat for three days and found the case dull and nothing to relieve me when it was over for the day. Went to the theatre for a short time on Monday night. I came here with Dick Denman to-day. His father (Lord Denman) had come with him to Sheffield, and was kind enough to send for me to shake hands with him. He looks well, but is only a noble wreck. Speech is entirely wanting, and his efforts only produce unintelligible and painful sounds. I hurried away as Denman asked me not to invite any response, and I fear I may have appeared rude in my hasty entrance and exit. I respect the fine old man, and am glad to have held his hand, for it is probable that I shall not see him again.'

D. November 13.—'Liddell was talking to me about silk, and thinks it would not be bumptious of me to apply next year. James Wilde, but two terms my senior, is now an applicant. I will not linger at sessions if I can help it. What I fear is the want of nisi prius practice. No reading can supply what is needful. Still I must work and hope.'

D. January 22, 1854.—'I went on Friday and had a long talk with Dundas (Sir David), and combining his advice with my own opinion I determined to apply for silk, and so told Overend who is going to do likewise.'

D. January 26.—'The Chancellor soon put us out of suspense, though I confess I had no anxiety on the subject. Our applications went in on Monday afternoon, and the answer came yesterday morning that he did not mean to recommend any addition to the Queen's Counsel.'

D. March 11.—'I had a burglary with wounding, when Overend called a witness, so that I had to reply. If I could believe all that was said, I should be, or might be, made vain. Trevor, who was in Court, said I was the only orator he had heard at the Bar. I had just the feeling,

in some parts of what I said, that I was impassioned and effective, as in other parts I felt tame and inefficient.'

D. *March 22.*—'I have apparently prospects of abundance of work, and did I promise to attend recklessly might have far more.'

D. *July 2, 1855.*—'At Guildford bought a *Times*, which made my journey a troubled one. Overend, Pickering, and Wilde made Q.C.'s, but I left where I was! A bitter bitter disappointment and mortification, which will not earn much love for Lord Cranworth from me! I think I have as much claim as those he has made, and as much as he to be Chancellor! I doubt if I was good company, for I have been devouring my heart all day. What to do I know not, as now my silk gown is deferred *sine die*, and as I think of it my blood burns within me. I judge the Chancellor not perhaps as mildly as I ought. He made three juniors last year who happened to be M.P.'s or connected with them. This year it is all seniority! Poor Jane! how she will fret over it! and I am sure that my father will feel it. Perhaps he will never see me earn that slight advance, which I cannot deem a favour! perhaps I shall never have it. One thing I will not do, and that is to hang on here to fight new battles for worthless results.'

Family affairs may be briefly dismissed. My mother, alarmed at certain symptoms of palpitation in my father, induced him to consult a specialist, who, wise man, put an end to all anxiety by saying 'If you want a purchaser for your heart I can easily find you one.' In 1849 the children, then six in number, three boys and three girls, were attacked by scarlet fever, fortunately of a mild type. It is rather amusing to see how little attempt was made in those days to avoid infection, or even to keep guests and children off the premises during such epidemics.

D. January 11, 1849.—‘Janey in bed very feverish, as she still remains, and we fear has scarlatina, though not in a bad form. The rest, except baby, all coughing, and poor Jane herself with a sore throat. All, however, except Janey and Edith were about, and merry enough, the worst of their attacks being over. To add to our fuss was the arrival of Alex and Charlotte Orr (brother-in-law and sister-in-law) on their way to Paris, so that we were obliged to send the former out, and how the rest packed I do not know, as little Carey was still here (a nephew). He went yesterday morning, and then came Middleton Moore, who dined here and left at 8.30 (a cousin), Mary Anne is to go to-day (a sister), and probably Alex will run to Brighton as they will not start for Paris while we have such an ailing household.’

In the summer of 1850 at Henley the two eldest boys had a narrow escape from drowning.

D. August 17, 1850.—‘I little thought of taking my pen again to-day, but I must record my thankfulness for God’s great mercy in preserving our two dear boys. I rode out to Badgmore for lunch, as they were to go fishing with Pearman (the butler), William, and a fisherman, to accompany them. Just after dinner we were alarmed by hearing that they had been nearly drowned. It seems that after fishing they wanted to row and the men to bathe, and got into a small boat instead of the punt, and Stewart endeavouring to shift his place and go to one side to sit near Pearman, the boat was in a moment upset, and all were in the water. The men got out! The fisherman seized both boys, but was obliged by the boat pushing on him to let go of Stewart, but still held Gatey, who, as he says, only cried

out to have Stewart saved, feeling safe himself though in the water. Stewart, after being under water, on coming up kept himself so, long enough to be taken up by a boat. They were put in hot blankets, and sent to us in borrowed clothes, apparently no worse. God be thanked for it! One cannot but feel that the men were much to blame in letting them go in such a cockle-shell as it must have been, and they, as well as the fisherman who has been up, are in great trouble about it.'

The next entry of a railway accident to his brother John and his family amusingly illustrates the casual management then prevailing on railways; a little earlier there is a record of delay caused by the engine-driver getting off to pick blackberries.

D. August 19.—'Sunday morning brought a letter from Laura with the account of the very narrow escape which she, John, and the children, had had on their way to Rugby en route for Ryde. An engine from Nuneaton, bringing a hamper containing a haunch of venison they had left behind, ran into their train with great violence, and caused much damage and some severe though not dangerous injuries to the passengers.'

D. May 5, 1853.—'Jane told me of my dear father's wonderful escape, knocked down by the leading horse of a wagon, he saw the wheel coming on to him, rolled over, and the wheel grazed his whole length! A new mercy in his preservation from all injury. God make us feel thankful for it all.'

The respite was destined to be only a short one, for on November 29, 1854, my grandfather had a stroke of paralysis, and my father hastened to his side at Dunstall.

D. December 5, 1854.—‘ My father was evidently full of joy to see me, but it was a sad spectacle to see him, for it was manifest that he was again struck by paralysis. The blow had fallen the day before, 29th November, at about one o’clock, when he said he thought he should see none of us again, and before becoming unconscious commended us all to God’s blessing. The seizure began when he was on his knees at his midday prayer. The symptoms grew worse on Friday, and up to Saturday morning, when his whole left side was utterly paralysed, but his mind and memory wonderful, and more wonderful still his peace, and resting on the cross of Christ.’

He rallied a little, and was able still to interest himself in all that concerned his children.

D. February 2, 1855.—‘ My father sends word that he hopes I shall try to get into Parliament. I fully intend it if I have a chance.’

D. September 30.—‘ At 10.25 last night my dear father’s spirit left his infirm and suffering body and is now, I firmly believe, in perfect happiness. I, alas, was not there until 2 o’clock this morning as my sisters seemed to have hoped against hope and against information, and sent no decisive summons till yesterday morning . . . in consequence I missed his last moments, which John saw, but does not think he was conscious of his presence. I grieve, but must not blame, but it would have been an inexpressible pleasure to have seen what all describe as so serenely peaceable and beautiful, and as there was ample warning we might well have been here in time to see his smile of welcome and feel the pressure of his hand. Charles had that comfort, but Mary Anne and myself lost it. My sisters are wonderfully calm, and seem to find comfort in talking of his “ majestic ”

out to have Stewart saved, feeling safe himself though in the water. Stewart, after being under water, on coming up kept himself so, long enough to be taken up by a boat. They were put in hot blankets, and sent to us in borrowed clothes, apparently no worse. God be thanked for it! One cannot but feel that the men were much to blame in letting them go in such a cockle-shell as it must have been, and they, as well as the fisherman who has been up, are in great trouble about it.'

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end. The face is still serene and tranquil, and like him, but it is but a mask of what the face was. Even looking on it one can hardly realise that he is gone. God grant us grace to follow him that we may meet again !'

A few of his personal reflections will give an impression of his thoughts from time to time during this period.

D. October 1, 1850.—' Another birthday come, and all around me safe and well as before. Nothing to detract from our happiness and enjoyment. Seldom indeed has so large a family as ours passed through so many years without deeper sorrows than have fallen to our share. Oh ! may God give me a thankful heart, and a wiser mind to take more advantage of the opportunities given to me ! May the coming year, if I am spared through it, mark a progress in me, religiously, morally, intellectually, and, if it be best for me to be advanced in the world, professionally ! May my dear wife find me a better husband and my children a better father than I have ever yet been ! I must be studying the characters of my boys with a view to their future career.'

D. August 12, 1853.—' Wallis said a strange thing to me to-day, perhaps a true one, that I require some great trial or affliction for my character. A sad need if it be so ! Can I not be schooled without it ? If it be to improve me for ever I must not dread it.'

D. October 2.—' So ended my birthday, which leads to my 40th year : I come to it surrounded by comforts and blessings, Jane unusually well, the children all fairly well, my health apparently good, my professional prospects bright as far as I can see, and indeed I know not where to look for a cloud in temporal matters, but I wish I could feel that I was advancing in what is of so far greater interest.

May the God who has done so much for me seal all His blessings by the gift of His Holy Spirit ! '

D. December 31.—'And so I am brought to the last day of the old year, not an uneventful one. Jane's and baby's illness are the cloudy portions, but how blessed are we in their recovery and in all other circumstances of it ! Professionally I seem to have made a start, and in professional as well as other income I have had the largest I have ever had. Oh may I use my means well ! and may the coming year see us all happy and contented and acknowledging in our lives the source from which all our good comes ! I have good news from all quarters, and have every reason to look forward hopefully.'

D. March 29, 1855.—'Seventeen years married ! what a period of prosperity and happiness ! Were one a fatalist it would make one tremble for the future, as if a Nemesis must come. Oh ! for more gratitude and devotedness to the Giver of all, and under Him to her who has been the source of so many blessings to me ! May we be spared to each other and to our children, and see them grow up around us such as we would wish to see them !'

All through their sixty years of married life never a day of separation passed without husband and wife exchanging letters. Of course but few of these can be given, but the following are extracts from two which belong to this time. It will be seen that the second letter is not an answer to the first, but of somewhat later date.

Gathorne Hardy to Jane Hardy

'LIVERPOOL, *March 27, 1853.*

'So ends my uneventful history, but as this will probably arrive on Tuesday I must not forget the claims which that day has upon my remembrance. Fancy, dearest, 15 years

having elapsed since we stood side by side before the Bishop as man and wife, and 18 since we first met. Have you repented the fatal step? or with all my faults of omission and commission can you look back with thankfulness and without regret? Ah dearest, when I think of what you have been to me, I grieve to think that ever a word or a gesture of mine should have for one instant wounded that loving heart. And yet I can recall but few instances where my bad temper has long prevailed against the sweet gentle patience with which it was borne. Thank God that there never was a moment's estrangement after all, and I really believe that when one grieves for the passing irritation, which, not kindled by you, has sometimes been the means of vexing you, one may take comfort in thinking that the clouds of 15 years are few, light and transparent. God bless you for all your care of me and our little ones. You are rewarded by an affection of the latter shewn at every moment, and you are, I believe, satisfied with the husband of many infirmities whom you took so long ago for better or worse. He must try henceforth to give you as much of the better as he can, and if love will teach him the way he hopes to find it.'

Jane Hardy to Gathorne Hardy, March 28, 1857.

'It is better perhaps easier to shew love in deeds than in words but I should just have liked to be able to tell you how 10 times fonder I am than 19 years ago and how our union has been the realisation of my idea of perfect happiness in married life, your strong and sober judgment guiding and tempering my weaknesses, patience bearing with my follies, and love blessing my every hour. What can I give you in return? Great God shew me in what I can make you happier, and the will shall not be wanting.'

CHAPTER VI

FIRST ELECTION TO PARLIAMENT (1855—1858)

GATHORNE HARDY had not long to wait after his father's death before he obtained the seat in Parliament which had always been the object of his ambition. He was elected Member for Leominster not six months later, and retained the seat without difficulty until he left it for Oxford University in 1865. He was fortunate in the time at which his opportunity came, and in the circumstances under which he obtained it. His failures, as he afterwards realised, were all for the best. He regretted his defeat at Bradford, but a seat in Parliament is a doubtful advantage to a junior barrister with a sessions and Parliamentary practice, and a moderate income, which would have been greatly diminished by the loss of the lucrative fees earned in the Committee Rooms. Had he been elected in 1847 it might have led to his being shunted into one of the sidings of minor professional promotion, although I rather doubt whether his heart was not too much set upon political life to have permitted him to abandon the prospect of a Parliamentary career. But the death of his father, and the inheritance of a large fortune mainly derived from the family business at Lowmoor, then exceedingly prosperous and lucrative, made him quite independent of any profession, an independence which he considered, as he has often told me, of great advantage in Parliamentary life. He was just over forty years of age, in the prime of his physical and intellectual faculties, and the exacting strain of active work at the Bar had cultivated and sharpened his natural gift of oratory. So, too, a minor

disappointment, which he certainly felt deeply, the refusal of the Lord Chancellor to promote him to the rank of Queen's Counsel, was also really a blessing in disguise. There is in the House of Commons, and in the constituencies, some jealousy of lawyers, and it is really an advantage to an aspirant for official rank not to be ticketed with the hall-mark of a barrister. The refusal of silk led to his speedy and complete abandonment of his profession, and left him free to devote all his time and energies to the service of his country. Then the time was also most favourable. The long truce under Palmerston was approaching its termination, and the birth of the modern party system, the final absorption of the Peelites, and the era of the conflicts in which those political giants, Disraeli and Gladstone, were to be the protagonists, was at hand. No better opportunity could have been chosen for a young man endowed with great natural gifts of oratory, trained and practised in the rough and tumble work of *nisi prius* advocacy and the prosecution and defence of criminals, to devote himself entirely to the service of his country, unfettered by any pecuniary needs and with no ambition but that of doing his duty without much regard for the results. On January 1, 1856, he was still thinking of professional advancement at the Bar, and hoping that 'If Watson should succeed Parke there may be a move on Circuit. That might open the Q.C. ranks to me.' But towards the end of the following month he was able to record his election to Parliament.

D. February 22.—'How much has passed since I last wrote! On Monday 11th I saw the death of Mr. Arkwright, M.P. for Leominster, and on Tuesday last became myself M.P. for that town. Called on Rose in vain; then to chambers whence I sent a note. At 10 o'clock P.M. I was in communication, and at six next morning off with Davies, the local agent. All went smoothly, Evans's hearty friendship and introductions did me much good, and there were

others too to speak well of me, in humbler life. It was terribly wet for canvassing at first, but very warm. At the end it was dry and cold. I was kept pretty busy, and never left my work, but on Sunday I walked out to Eyton to dine. I addressed the people on the first evening, and again on Thursday, and on the latter occasion made good way. I never spoke so much to my own satisfaction nor apparently to that of others. I felt clearly, and made myself understood. Last Monday was the nomination day; Tuesday the poll, at which I took a decided lead from the first, and ended by a majority of 78, which I could have increased. My opponent was not a formidable one by any means. The whole thing was conducted in the quietest and most inexpensive way, and Mr. Spofforth, my election agent, was strict in keeping us within bounds on all points.'

The further particulars of the election given below are from my father's summary, written in 1884, and show how vivid a recollection he still retained of his first election.

S. 1884.—'I had been looking for a seat in Parliament, and was fortunate in being preserved from Yarmouth, and Taunton, as I was in securing Leominster. How well I remember seeing when at Brighton in February the death of George Arkwright in the *Times* Obituary, and noting that a week had elapsed since, so that there would have been time for other candidates to come forward. I hastened to town on the 11th of February and put my irons in the fire. I was told to be at home at night as the seat must be offered to others before me, and I have since learnt that the favoured ones were Sir T. Gladstone and the present Lord Wilton. From circumstances neither was

out to have Stewart saved, feeling safe himself though in the water. Stewart, after being under water, on coming up kept himself so, long enough to be taken up by a boat. They were put in hot blankets, and sent to us in borrowed clothes, apparently no worse. God be thanked for it! One cannot but feel that the men were much to blame in letting them go in such a cockle-shell as it must have been, and they, as well as the fisherman who has been up, are in great trouble about it.'

The next entry of a railway accident to his brother John and his family amusingly illustrates the casual management then prevailing on railways; a little earlier there is a record of delay caused by the engine-driver getting off to pick blackberries.

D. August 19.—'Sunday morning brought a letter from Laura with the account of the very narrow escape which she, John, and the children, had had on their way to Rugby en route for Ryde. An engine from Nuneaton, bringing a hamper containing a haunch of venison they had left behind, ran into their train with great violence, and caused much damage and some severe though not dangerous injuries to the passengers.'

D. May 5, 1853.—'Jane told me of my dear father's wonderful escape, knocked down by the leading horse of a wagon, he saw the wheel coming on to him, rolled over, and the wheel grazed his whole length! A new mercy in his preservation from all injury. God make us feel thankful for it all.'

The respite was destined to be only a short one, for on November 29, 1854, my grandfather had a stroke of paralysis, and my father hastened to his side at Dunstall.

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He rallied a little, and was able still to interest himself in all that concerned his children.

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first Lord Leconfield, and old Sir Charles Taylor of Hollycombe. Colonel Wyndham, my father said, loved his own way, but was popular with all classes. He had one or two curious habits; he used to leave his guests after dinner as soon as the ladies were gone, and he used to see servants, or people who came on business, in the marble hall or saloon in the presence of his visitors. My father recalls an occasion when he attempted to retire and was called back from the library by Mrs. Wyndham, who told him that the Colonel did not like his guests to make any difference about remaining when he was employed with his agents or others. He returned, and was amused at his wrath at bad pens, which he visited upon his house steward by striking their cost from his book. Sir Charles Taylor was full of anecdote, but did not like an inattentive audience at dinner, and if the conversation was drawing away from him he used to strike a bell to attract attention. His anecdotes of lotteries are written down by my father in his summary. He had himself won half a thirty-thousand pound prize, and was fond of exhibiting his bank book with the credit entry of £15,000 paid to his account. His good fortune was the result of the investment of an old gambling debt of £21 unexpectedly paid to him. He told how the butler at Petworth had dreamed of a number and won £10,000 but wisely refused to speculate more until he dreamed again. There was also a story with a fine moral, of a maidservant who took a lottery ticket and was severely scolded by her master for her imprudence: he however took a note of the number of her ticket, and, on calling at the office, ascertained that it had won the £10,000 prize. On his return he proposed to the fortunate speculator, and married her, only telling her of her good fortune on their return from the church as man and wife. Then he found to his horror that his reproaches had so worked upon her mind that she had sold her ticket. My father was fond of shooting with him, although the luncheon used to consist of a hard biscuit, and his host was fond of reminding him that he liked live pheasants better than dead ones.

In this lovely spot and among these primitive surroundings the holidays were spent during three happy years. I remember them well, for it was at Blackdown where I was first promoted to the use of a gun, and where I caught my first large trout, a monster scaling nearly two pounds. There were still a few blackgame on Blackdown Hill, and enough wild sport to satisfy any true sportsman. My father writes of it as 'a place we loved much.' He was not a hunting man, but occasionally he followed the hounds; riding, however, was his daily recreation, and it was our privilege to join him in long scrambles through lanes and over commons. He records two severe riding accidents during this period, but happily on each occasion he escaped without permanent injury.

S.—'On December 8, 1856, I was run away with at Petworth Park, and was in a good deal of danger till I turned the violent brute from the deep lane to which he was carrying me. He was wild with excitement, and rushed at fences, not rising to them. I got him into a deep clay plough and brought him to reason for a time, but Colonel Wyndham begged me to retire, or accept a mount from him, and I retired. I had another severe accident in the autumn of 1857, my horse putting his foot into a deep rabbit-hole while at full gallop. He threw me far away, but rolled himself close up to me. Happily the head was not touched, but the stress was all on the shoulder where some bones were broken, and I was laid by for some time, although I managed to use a gun a little towards the close of the year.'

He recalls the Thanksgiving for the Peace in May 1856, and gives as his opinion that the war did much for national spirit and was justifiable.

S.—'It would not have happened at all had the Czar thought that Aberdeen did not represent England. All

subsequent knowledge proves that we drifted for want of a strong hand at the helm. Firmness with Russia is a more peaceable course than timidity and concession.'

The year 1857 was eventful in his private life. In the spring, while he was away at Leominster for the election which followed the dissolution of Parliament on the vote of censure carried by Cobden against Lord Palmerston on the Chinese War, my mother on her own responsibility bought a new London home, 12 Grosvenor Crescent (now No. 17). It was necessary to come to an immediate decision, or the bargain, a most favourable one, would have been lost.

This house was our London home during the whole of my father's official career. At that time it occupied the quietest situation in London. There was no thoroughfare to Hyde Park Corner, Tattersall's occupying the block now filled by the Wellington Club, the road, and part of St. George's Hospital. He had as neighbours on the Belgrave Square side, first Sidney Herbert, afterwards Lord Herbert, and next the Duke of Richmond, his lifelong friend, and long his colleague in office. There we settled on May 8, 1857. During these two years he was also looking out for a country home, and visited many places before finding all he wanted at Hemsted Park near Cranbrook in Kent where he lived and died, and where, it is hoped, the family have struck root. Midgham and Woolhampton in Berkshire, Newbold, and Dean Park, were visited and for various reasons found unsuitable. He actually bid for Bolesworth Castle, but afterwards rejoiced that he had failed to obtain it.

About the middle of the same year he purchased Hemsted Park from the Hodges family. He records that he fell in love with it at first sight, 'and my affections (1885) have not changed. What a dear home it has been to us!' Here he was destined to pass the remainder of his life, and he died in the hope that the home he loved so well might long remain

in the possession of his family. A short description of the place and its surroundings will follow later. That same year George Richmond drew the portrait of him in chalks which was engraved for Grillion's, and is now in the National Portrait Gallery. He took a great liking to the artist, and was charmed with his geniality and great conversational gifts. They became strong personal friends, and the artist was a frequent and welcome visitor at Hemsted. Richmond later made another attempt to paint his portrait in oils, but gave up the task in despair. There must have been something peculiarly difficult about my father's features and expression, as almost every artist who attempted them was destined to fail. Sir Francis Grant made two attempts, and the second, which was accepted 'faute de mieux,' cannot be regarded as a success. Holl's profile portrait taken in 1883, a copy of which hangs opposite to the entrance of the Carlton Club, is the only really satisfactory likeness ever painted, and that artist had previously completed a full length, exhibited in the Royal Academy, which met such universal condemnation that he took it back, and substituted his later version. Many other artists attempted the same task in vain. The same year Spurgeon was attracting enormous congregations by his remarkable preaching. My father records his impressions of his one and only visit to the famous orator. I give the entry from the Diary, and also his later Summary written in 1885, which shows that his memory vividly retained the substance of the sermon :

D. June 23.—'On Sunday the 21st I went off in spite of the heat to hear Spurgeon. The sight of so vast an audience was extraordinary and the man is remarkable, though not quite up to what I had been led to expect. His power of language, and dramatic scene-painting, is very great, but I did not see signs of enthusiasm, though I doubt whether without it he could enchain men long. I am glad to have heard him, and content.'

S.—‘I remember he said odd things. “Ready-made prayers are like ready-made clothes, meant to fit everybody and fit nobody.” (What then of hymns, or a minister’s prayer which may fit himself, but be odious to his fellow-worshippers?) “My sect only lives till the heresy of infant sprinkling is at an end; you can buy a conclusive book on it for fourpence, namely, the New Testament.” Pretty cool! However, his voice and dramatic power were remarkable, and the discourse, aimed at the opera in vogue, “*La Traviata*,” was considered one of his best. I have never been drawn again.’

He took his seat on February 21, 1856, introduced by his friend Edward Taylor, the Whip, and Sir John Pakington, afterwards his colleague in Lord Derby’s Cabinet. His first vote was given the same evening on a motion to open the British Museum on Sunday, when he made one of a majority of 376 to 48 against the proposal. He made his first speech, a few words only, on the Factory Bill, a question which always interested him deeply. ‘I was very nervous, but did not bungle, though I was far from saying all I wished. I had no reason to complain of my reception.’ His first impressions of his leaders were not favourable. On February 27, when he first heard Disraeli, his comment is adverse:

D. *February 27.*—‘Disraeli made a bitter attack upon the Government, but did not impress me favourably. His deadly thrusts were murderously given, and his weapon a jagged sword, not a polished one.’

The next extract is curious:

D. *April 25.*—‘I did not go down to the House after coming home to dinner, though tempted by some communications from Cardwell which showed a strong anti-Government feeling. He said that the Government hated them

worse than when in office with them, if possible, and tried to get out my view of the hopes of reconciliation. How can Gladstone and Disraeli serve together ?'

A vote of censure in May was defeated by a majority of 129. The young Member was indignant at the tactics of his leaders.

D. May 3.—' This defers a dissolution, tends to confirm and consolidate the Ministry, and to weaken and disorganise the Opposition, none of whom were hearty, while many retired, and some helped the Government.'

His first experience of the House was a short one, for the Parliament to which he was elected in February 1856 was dissolved in March of the following year. Lord Palmerston was defeated on March 3 on a vote of censure moved by Cobden which was carried by a majority of 16. The war in China, undertaken to avenge the very doubtful claims of the owner of the *Lorcha Arrow* to the privileges of a British subject, was the occasion of this defeat and the dissolution. Lord Palmerston rightly gauged the feelings of the constituencies. He waved the British flag, shouted 'Civis Romanus sum,' and his enemies were scattered. My father records at the time that he could conscientiously defend his vote, but, while under no alarm as to his own prospects of success, he believes in the prospect of a victory for Palmerston, whom he dubs a popular Minister, although he thinks the grounds of his popularity mistaken. His forecast, except the last sentence, proved to be singularly correct.

D. March 6.—' My impression is that our side will lose, and the Liberal gain to support Lord Palmerston for a time, but eventually to bring into power a movement Ministry, of which I shall not be surprised to see Lord John the head. The Conservatives are in my opinion as far from power as ever.'

He attended the farewell official dinner of the Speaker, Mr. Shaw Lefevre, whom he thought one of the greatest occupants of the Chair of the House of Commons. Admiral Walcote proposed the retiring Speaker's health, in spite of the rule prohibiting all speeches on such occasions. Mr. Shaw Lefevre, in responding, made the happy excuse for him that it was impossible to prevent a British Admiral from 'breaking the line.' His first colleague, J. G. Phillimore, abandoned his seat for Leominster without a struggle; I suppose he must have felt that he had no chance, as he told my father that he would willingly have a leg amputated if by so doing he could ensure his readmission to Parliament. His new colleague, with whom he was returned without a contest, was a Mr. Willoughby, an old Indian.

'He was better with his pen than with his tongue, too fat to canvass comfortably, but we were excellent friends while our association lasted. His weakness was in believing stories of pseudo-Leominster electors and their female relations, and giving them money or buying daubs from them. I warned him never to believe any reference to me unless he saw my own writing, but nevertheless he used to greet me with "I gave this or that to the person you sent," when the person had never been near me, and I had sent no message.'

They were returned on March 27. Palmerston however triumphed, as my father had predicted. He obtained a majority of 70. The Radicals and Peelites suffered disastrously, and he notes on April 15: 'There is a wonderful clearance of old faces: Cardwell, Cobden, Bright, Gibson, Sir W. Clay, F. Peel, Admiral Berkeley, F. Stracey, H. Gwyn, Peacock, and many others. How lucky I have been!'

He again introduced the Beer Bill which had been

defeated in the former Parliament, and the measure came on for second reading on June 10. He had taken great pains to get up the subject, in which he was much interested, and his speech, which gained him many compliments, greatly improved his position. 'It was a memorable Wednesday afternoon, giving me a great start in the House.' His proposals were very modest according to modern notions, and have since been accepted to the full. He proposed to put beer-houses and public-houses on the same footing (not interfering with existing licenses except for misconduct), to extend the Tippling Act to beer-houses, and to put the granting and renewing of their licenses in the hands of magistrates instead of the Excise. The applicants were to give twenty-one days' notice of their intention to apply to the 'new' police, who were to investigate their characters. There were also provisions for the regulation of coffee-houses kept open between 9 P.M. and 4 A.M. In spite of the opposition of the Government, the second reading was only lost by a majority of 33, the Ayes being 181, the Noes 213, but he notes: 'I was well received and smothered with compliments since. It is a comfort in defeat to have given satisfaction to all.'

S.—'The run at the time was rather with the Committee that had sat before I was in the House, for Free Trade, as was shown in Gladstone's Wine Bill later on. Things are different now, and restrictions beyond mine are enacted.'

Other entries in the Diary show that he was naturally gratified at the great success of his first attempt as a legislator, but the compliments he received did not turn his head. 'I must suppose that my speech told, as many say they were converted by it. I must try to keep up my character, and only speak when I know my subject.' A wise resolution to which he adhered throughout his Parliamentary career. He was a great admirer of Lord

Derby, but at this time was not impressed with the tactics of Disraeli.

‘ Lord Derby is certainly a master of expression, and some of his speeches admirable. He advises watching and waiting, which is of course the only mode in which we can safely act.’ ‘ What folly he [Disraeli] leads his friends into, and yet how clever he is ! ’

The ‘ watching and waiting ’ was not destined to be for a long time. Palmerston’s great success had turned his head, his manner had become more arrogant, and he lost his remarkable power of accurately gauging public opinion. The attempt to assassinate the Emperor Napoleon by throwing at his carriage bombs which had been manufactured in England, roused great indignation in France; and the vapourings of French Colonels, and the insulting despatch in which Count Walewski, the French Foreign Minister, required England to alter her law of conspiracy and renounce the right of asylum, kindled a corresponding heat on this side of the Channel. There was a war scare on both sides, in the middle of which Lord Palmerston introduced his Conspiracy Bill without even answering Walewski’s despatch. My father voted with some hesitation for the motion that leave be given to bring in the Bill, but supported Milner Gibson’s amendment to the second reading censuring the Government. I give the entries from his Diary which relate to this important crisis. It will be seen that he and Lord Cairns, neither of them men subject to scares, believed in the reality of the danger of a quarrel with France.

D. February 10, 1858.—‘ The debate interesting on the Conspiracy Bill. It lasted through last night also; I never was more doubtful how to act, but on the whole did not like to vote against the introduction of the Bill, though not efficient in itself, and certainly most awkwardly brought in on French

pressure. Napoleon's apology for the language in the addresses published in the *Moniteur* was ample, and had some weight. Disraeli too, I confess, influenced me. His speech was admirable, those of the Government most wretched, Lord John was mischievous and not in good style. In the end 295 to 98 settled the matter. On the French matter Cairns told me that the Consul at Cherbourg reported steamers with coal on board, and the same at Brest, and there are abundance of troops in France. I confess I think we may have a quarrel any day, and what preparations ?'

D. February 20.—'I last night find myself in a compound division censuring the Government for not answering Walewski's despatch, which carries the day against Palmerston by 19, 234 to 215. What will come of it ? I think Government will be rescued in some way.'

D. February 21.—'Yesterday Lord Derby kissed hands. His difficulties seem to me enormous, if not insuperable, but some of his friends appear very sanguine. I am told that office will be offered to me, and am very nervous and doubtful about it. *On dit* (and the authority is good) the Under-Secretaryship for the Home Department. Very hard and confining work at a time when I have so much private business on my hands.'

D. February 25, 1858.—'I was summoned yesterday by a note from Jolliffe to call upon Lord Derby at 5 P.M., which I did. He offered me, in the handsomest and most courteous way, the office expected, and I made no delay in accepting. He told me that I was universally named for the office, and that Walpole especially had spoken of me for it when he himself doubted about taking office.'

Thus, after only three years' experience of Parliament,

Gathorne Hardy found himself with his foot on the ladder of promotion. At the time he rather envied his friend Mowbray, who became Judge Advocate-General with a seat in the Privy Council. But writing nearly twenty years later he recognises the advantage he gained by being in a working office always under the public eye, and under Walpole, a gentle chief who gave him opportunities. The Government was in a difficult position, for Lord Derby had proved unable to enlist any Peelite support, and his new Ministry was in a minority. There is a curious letter of Disraeli to Delane, quoted in Mr. Dasent's *Life of the great Editor*, which shows that he considered that Lord Derby had been judicious in his secondary appointments. He places my father's name first in a list, which includes many destined in the future to hold high Cabinet appointments.

Disraeli to Delane, February 25, 1858.

'I do not think at any time the secondary appointments were so strong. Hardy, S. Fitzgerald, Sotheron Estcourt, Edward Egerton, Carnarvon, Hardinge, all very good. Legal—good—Irish—good.'—*'Life of Delane,' Dasent, vol. ii. p. 285.*



THE OLD HOUSE, HEMET, ID. 1899

CHAPTER VII

A COUNTRY HOME AND OFFICE (1858—1859)

THE same year which marked the commencement of Gathorne Hardy's official career saw him settled down at Hemsted, his new country seat in Kent. On May 27, 1858, the birth of his youngest child, a daughter, Margaret Evelyn (married in 1893 to the eldest son of his former rival and colleague Viscount Goschen), completed his family of four sons and five daughters. There had been some difficulty about the title to his new property, but he completed the purchase on March 19, and came into residence on the 30th day of that month.

Hemsted Park stands high, overlooking the Weald of Kent and Sussex. The old house, a long low building at one time surrounded by a moat, had been visited by Queen Elizabeth in 1573, and the walnut tree which she planted on the occasion had only recently disappeared at the time of his coming into residence. The building was in a most ruinous and dilapidated condition, and two wings were closed, we children being forbidden to enter them. It was found impossible, after taking the advice of the most competent architects, to make a satisfactory restoration, and building operations were soon commenced on a site sufficiently near the old mansion to take in all the gardens and grounds, yet high enough to command a magnificent view of the Sussex downs from Rye to Beachy Head, with all the wooded slopes of the old Weald intervening. Much of the original building described in Hasted's 'History of Kent' had been altered or had disappeared. The moat was filled up,

and no traces of it remained, except a small pond facing the west front. No traces remained either of 'the two handsome octagon towers of the left wing' or of the large arched window of the other one. The manor of Hemsted in the time of Henry III belonged to Robert de Hemsted who had assumed his surname from it. His descendants did not remain there long, for in the twentieth year of Edward III James de Echyngham, of Echyngham in the county of Sussex, paid aid for it at the making of the Black Prince a Knight as the fourth part of a knight's fee. In the beginning of the next reign, that of Richard II, Sir Robert Belknap, Kt., Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, had become possessed of it, but he 'favouring too much the designs of that Prince in the extending of his prerogative,' was in the eleventh year of that reign attainted, and this, with the rest of his estates, was forfeited to the Crown, whence it was presently granted to Sir William de Guldeford, who kept his Shrievalty at his seat there that same year, and made great additions to the mansion. The property remained in the possession of the Guldefords until the tenth year of the reign of Queen Anne. In Queen Anne's reign it was sold to Sir John Norris, Admiral of the Fleet and Vice-Admiral of England, 'Foul weather Jack' as the sailors called him in his own day. He planted the beautiful avenue of Scotch firs at the opening of the great wood of 1500 acres, just opposite to the lodge leading into the Staplehurst road, from seed brought from Sweden in one of his cruises; and I have heard that a large sum was offered for the whole of the trees, for naval purposes, during the Crimean war. Fortunately, it was refused, and the work of Anne's Admiral escaped destruction at the hand of Victoria's. He died in 1749, and his strong and rugged features are preserved in an admirable bust in the chancel of Benenden Church. From his descendants it passed about 1780 into the hands of Mr. Thomas Hallett Hodges, who served as High Sheriff of the county in 1786. He died in 1800, and was succeeded by his son Thomas Law Hodges, who served in five

parliaments before the Reform Bill for Kent, and afterwards for the western division of that county. He died in 1857, and the estate was sold to my father by the trustees of the settlement in the following year.

The Diary records his quiet entry into possession, and his reasons for declining a public reception.

D. March 30, 1858.—‘We every one, down to Katie, were in church this morning, and so began our home associations. I should not omit that the tenantry had wished to meet me, but we thought it better not, as I have my character to earn, and it might have seemed like a triumph over the family so recently gone.’

Here he soon found abundance of occupation and interest in planning the new house, of which Brandon was the architect, and the restoration of the church, which was at once undertaken, although the work was not carried out until 1861. The old church had been destroyed by fire in 1672, and rebuilt in 1677–78 in the debased style of that period. St. George’s, Benenden, was a strange and wonderful structure when I first remember it. The following description of it is taken from a privately printed history of the parish by the Rev. Francis Haslewood, Curate of the parish from 1868 to 1875, afterwards Rector of St. Matthew’s, Ipswich, to which I am indebted for much information. All the interior arches had been Grecianised. The north and south windows in the sanctuary were blocked up with stone cemented and whitewashed, and hidden by memorial stones. The Communion rails formed three sides of an oblong. The ceiling was low and flat, decorated in the centre with a large plaster of Paris rose. There was no chancel arch, but in the place now occupied by the present one the old ‘three-decker’ stood on the south side, while the squire’s pew occupied the north. I well remember the great ‘loose box’ in which, as the Vicar

said, 'four Sussex steers could stand abreast without showing their horns.' The west end was entirely blocked up by a gallery; there sat the 'music,' an amateur band with more zeal than knowledge, and in front of it hung the Royal Arms. The workmen who restored the church were instrumental in destroying sundry strange links with the past: they broke to fragments an ancient piscina and two sedilia found in the church in the course of their operations; blew up the village lock-up, and tore down the parish stocks. Both lock-up and stocks had been in use within living memory.

In Parliament and in official life my father was gaining ground rapidly. He found a warm friend and a kindly mentor in his official chief, Spencer Walpole, and was soon marked out as a future leader. The new Ministry had a difficult task, only existing on sufferance, and the Peelites were gradually drifting into hostility, although Gladstone for some time supported the Government he had refused to join. The new Under-Secretary was at first by no means enamoured of his leader in the Commons. The India Bill and Lord Ellenborough's despatch and resignation by no means strengthened their position.

It will be seen from the extracts which follow that the new Under-Secretary criticised the scheme very unfavourably.

D. March 26, 1858.—'At the House the India Bill, which startled me for what appeared its absurdities—five of the Council elected by London, Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, Belfast!! Such a set for executives—pledged!—What bribery and corruption! What a mess altogether! The remainder of the 18 less objectionable, but qualifications for each too limited and specific. On the whole but a bad specimen of legislation, and I believe a blow, if not a deathblow. However, others take a different view, and it may be that I am mistaken, but such a measure from the collective wisdom of our Cabinet amazes me. Bright spoke

my sentiments on it—"As the measure developed," he writes in 1885, "I became so hot and uncomfortable that I went out of the House. When asked my reason I expressed my consternation at the absurdities proposed."

D. April 28.—'Monday and Tuesday bad nights for the Government—Disraeli's speech in favour of the defunct India Bill was as weak as it was malapropos. It made him ridiculous and incensed his own friends. It was clearly as great a surprise to the Cabinet as to outsiders. He has shewn himself a shifty and unsafe tactician and we shall never win our way under such guidance. His conduct on Locke-King's motion on Tuesday was again inconsistent and cowardly, and the party are all offended. We want pluck to maintain our position which we ought to recognise, admitting that a combination can oust us, but still boldly placing measures on the table as our claim to support. We have nothing but the Budget at present to fall back upon. Our opponents are far more threatening, and, I cannot but think, mean to begin attacks after damaging us by the contemptuous tone they take.'

D. May 1.—'Yesterday rode in the morning, then to Lord Derby's. A good muster, and a stirring speech seemed to set the party on its legs again, and Lord Harry Vane's threatening motion was easily disposed of in the evening, 447 to 57 the division. Dined at the House; Disraeli sent me a note to speak on India, which I rather regret as it is not in my way.'

Lord Harry Vane's motion was that the change of circumstances since the first proposal of Her Majesty's late advisers to transfer the Government of India from the East India Company to the Crown renders it inexpedient to proceed further with legislation during the present session. Lord John Russell, 'from no love of the Government,'

rescued them from their difficulties on the India Bill, but another attack soon followed of which the progress is noted from day to day.

D. May 12.—‘As we came home from church on Sunday I saw Cardwell and S. Herbert in ominous conjunction and told Jane I thought they were after mischief. The threats against Lord Ellenborough’s despatch, or rather the *publication* of it, had been strong, and, as it turns out, Cardwell is to be the mover of the vote of censure. He gave his notice on Monday night, and all expected that we were to be destroyed, and it may be so even yet, though the complexion of affairs is much altered. Last night Lord E., in a most manly and most vigorous speech, resigned on the ground that he was personally responsible for the *publication* and would not have his colleagues condemned for that, but would drive them to fight on the merits if at all. I confess I felt rather small as I listened, to think that he was to be given up, though no Ministry is safe while he is in it. Even now Lord J. and Pam will have its fruits in new attacks, if this one should fail, concocted as it was at S. Herbert’s and Cambridge House, not without the aid of Lord John.’

D. May 13.—‘Walpole writes me privately that I shall be asked to follow Cardwell, no easy task on such a subject on which I am ill informed. I must do mybest if needed.’

D. May 15.—‘It had been arranged that Cairns should follow Cardwell, and glad I am that he did, for he made a most admirable and exhaustive speech, far more adapted for its object than any I should have delivered. The debate was adjourned after very feeble speeches on both sides, Lord John concluding with a bitterness and disingenuousness which recalled his old character. He positively

shook with excitement. Cardwell was dull and dreary. Vernon Smith went deeper than ever into the mire though deep enough on Thursday night. It looks, however, like defeat for us.'

D. May 18.—'I do not write so despondingly. I cannot but think that we are gaining ground hourly. My speech came off last night after Charles Wood, and was well received, though I feel that it was full of faults; in want of consecutiveness, and in too great rapidity of delivery especially. It was at all events bold and aggressive, and some points, especially that on the censure of Lord Auckland, told.'

D. May 24.—'Well, I duly got my ride on Friday morning and went to my work at the H.O. It was soon manifest when the adjournment of the House was moved that there was a shaking among the Cardwellian faction. A scene more strange and amusing was never beheld. One after another got up, entreating Cardwell to withdraw his motion, and that after we had in the first instance refused! We sate silent, and the behaviour of the whole party was admirable, though I hear that Warren had been wishing to begin the evening by calling upon C. to withdraw his action, but was prevented. At length after many runnings to and fro, and confabs between Palmerston, Cardwell, Wood, &c., the first rose and gave assent to the withdrawal. And so the bubble burst, and the threatening storm was dispersed; the best end in my judgment. *We* could not have forced a division, as we should have driven away some of our friends; and *they* durst not, as in that case our majority would have been very large. What a fall for Cardwell after his vainglorious anticipations!'

On two occasions during this his first experience of

official life he found himself in antagonism to the course pursued by his leaders. As I am anxious to give a perfectly true picture of all phases of his career, I shall deal with them both in some detail, especially as he himself admitted, when reviewing and summarising his diary, that he had been hasty and wrong in tendering his resignation, and that the heat of the weather, and the vile condition of the Thames, had something to do with his readiness to take offence. The first was a departmental question about the wrongful conviction of a solicitor named Barber, whose case was rather a celebrated one in its day, when the decision of the Home Office was overruled in the House of Commons with the consent of the Government; the second the issue by Sir William Jolliffe, the chief Whip, of a circular to the members of the Government calling on them for a closer attendance. I will deal with both questions in their order.

Barber was a solicitor who had represented professionally a gang of scoundrels who had committed a series of elaborate frauds on the National Debt Commissioners. He had himself been convicted as their accomplice, and had served a portion of his sentence, when, on further evidence coming out, he received a free pardon. The confession of some of his supposed accomplices after their conviction had exonerated him, and the jury had said that they would not have convicted him had they known the facts which came to light after. Not satisfied with his release and pardon, he presented a petition to Parliament asking for redress and compensation for the exceptional hardships he had undergone when serving his sentence. The matter came before the Home Secretary, who decided with my father's complete concurrence that the circumstances gave no claim for compensation. Probably the reasons for this decision were those which he always strongly adhered to, that it was unfair that the taxpayer should be mulcted for the error of a jury, or at least that, if the community were to be

held responsible, compensation and redress should be given upon some settled system and not only in sporadic instances where the circumstances happen to appeal strongly to the public imagination. Logically there is much to be said for this view, but popular assemblies are not always governed by logic, and when an Irish member took up Barber's claims, and moved for a Committee to consider them, the Government, finding in all probability that they would be placed in a minority if they resisted, threw over the Home Office, and accepted the motion. Walpole was not in the House at the time, and my father absolutely declined to be the mouthpiece of their surrender.

D. June 17.—'Heat more intense than ever. Never did I feel it like this morning. On Tuesday we had a morning as well as an evening sitting. At the latter I was to have opposed Brady's motion about Barber, but the Government gave way at once. I declined to do their work on that footing, so Pakington did it, and, as I believe, has established a precedent of which we shall hear more hereafter. This, however, is not the place to discuss it. Walpole ought to have decided the matter for the Government, and it was unfair to him in his absence to take the course they did.'

The same day, June 17, while the annoyance of having been thrown over was still rankling in his mind, a circular was issued from the Whips' office, no doubt by the express direction of Mr. Disraeli, who was always a strict disciplinarian. It need not be given at full length; it announced solemnly that it was necessary that every member of the Government should make such arrangements as should admit of his never being absent from the House when business of importance was under consideration, and concluded 'that it was his duty to inform his colleagues that such an attendance

would be required of them during the rest of the session of Parliament.' My father was up in arms, and at once wrote to Walpole tendering his resignation, which he asked him to lay before Lord Derby.

Gathorne Hardy to Walpole, June 17, 1858

'MY DEAR WALPOLE

'I have received a circular from Sir W. Jolliffe this morning which appears to me unreasonable and uncalled for. I have, as far as I am aware, been anything but negligent in my attendance in the House since Lord Derby took Office. That is best proved by the list of Government divisions, in all of which my name is to be found. If any closer attendance than I have given will be expected of me during the rest of this session I must at once decline to promise it.

'As the circular by its tone implies dissatisfaction with the past, and somewhat peremptorily requires more for the future, I can only say that as far as I am concerned I readily place my Office at Lord Derby's disposal, and prefer to give him an independent support. Will you as the Chief of my department be so kind as to submit this to Lord Derby, as I understand that Sir William Jolliffe has only acted under orders in sending me the missive to which I take exception?'

Walpole's kindly answer gives the proper advice upon which my father of course acted, and I think he was for once a little ashamed of himself. I give the letter in full, as a memento of a kind and able man, and my father's comments on the incident written in 1884. He certainly need not have put on the cap, as he tied with Mowbray for the prize presented at the Ministerial fish dinner for the best attendance.

Walpole to Hardy, June 19

‘MY DEAR HARDY

‘Lord Derby was too unwell to attend the Cabinet so I could not speak to him about you. But I have been thinking over your letter a good deal, and have consulted my Prime Minister here at home—We think that as the cap does not in any way fit you, the best thing on the whole to do is to consider it as meant for those only whom it does fit. Of you there can be among our friends but one opinion, and the value of your services as a member of the Government I, you may be sure, would be the first to appreciate and the last to give up. I shall fight your battle to the utmost of my power and in any way you like, but having arrived at the conclusion that there is no necessity for your resigning, but on the contrary that there is every reason why you should stay, I hope you will think no more about the grumpy circular, which in my opinion was as ill-judged as it was clearly unjust.

‘I had other matters to keep smooth to-day, and it seems to me as if the task of conciliation would add another not unimportant item to the various duties which I have to discharge. Stick to the Ship, my dear Hardy, and may you one day be its master.

‘P.S. I wrote this yesterday evening intending to give it to you at Waddington’s. I have read it through at leisure this morning. I cannot see that I have anything to add, except perhaps to state more strongly than ever the extreme regret which I should feel in parting with you.’

‘S. 1884.—I see a correspondence on a circular of Jolliffe’s calling for more regular attendance, which huffed me

and others. It was not called for by many of us, and need not have been sent to all. Looking back now I fancy that I made too much of it, and should have been content to know that I did not deserve any reprimand or require any reminder. Ours has been a dining party, and no doubt requires pressure to keep it up to the mark. Walpole of course dealt with it in the most friendly spirit to us, and after all, as in the case of Dr. Johnson's wife's ghost, "nothing came of it"—I was too precipitate. Disraeli's letter to Walpole, not meant for me to see perhaps, made me say "he is a hateful leader" and yet from the beginning when others abused him I always said "I found him your leader, what has he done to deserve deposition?"—spoke myself hastily, but acted in steady support. The state of the Thames added to the horrors of night work in the House, and might well lessen attendance.'

The entries from the Diary follow. It was rather a storm in a tea-cup altogether, and the 'hateful leader' and his indignant subordinate were destined to become the best of friends, and to fight side by side in many a hard-fought field.

D. June 19, 1858.—'We were all angered by a harsh circular from Jolliffe (under orders) to which I wrote a reply to Walpole, Cairns to Lord Derby, and others I believe to other heads. Walpole tells me that Disraeli was very sulky at mine. I annex both as records, and certainly adhere to my statement that, if they require more than I have done in the way of attendance, I cannot give it. I suppose all will blow over without resignation, but I should almost be relieved if it were accepted.'

D. June 20.—'Walpole had an ungentlemanlike letter from Disraeli about my note, which evidently was not

meant for me to see. He is a hateful leader!! Walpole's note to me is within, and I have answered it by saying that I will treat my letter as a protest and go on. So best!

D. July 25.—'Went to the "Fish Dinner," which was famously attended, and Whiteside in the chair was very humorous, so that all passed off cheerily. It is said that last year the attendance was little above twenty, and there had been such depression that toasts and speeches had been given up. My toast in honour of Mowbray and myself as the best boys was extremely well received, and I let Mowbray take the reward (a small pewter spoon and a farthing for a medal). On the whole it was an evening to be remembered. Lord Derby was excellent.'

D. September 6.—'Walpole hints that Disraeli is inclined for *Radical Reform*. He will alienate his party then and break it up. Permissive Ballot! Rose sent me papers on this point, I must put down my numerous objections.'

No more explicit record can be found of the nature of this curious suggestion. Nothing about 'Permissive Ballot' appears in the Bill as introduced.

The new proclamation next alluded to, announced that all future acts of the Indian Government would be done in the name of the Sovereign alone.

D. December 15.—'The Indian proclamation works well, but how changed from Lord Stanley's first effort! Bright disgusts all, and opens the way for a mild Reform. Will our Cabinet have skill and courage for the occasion and dare to be moderate? The Government will break up if not.'

D. January 7, 1859.—'Walpole seems in better spirits about the Reform Bill, and I think that they must be

moderate. Foreign affairs look threatening, and if, as Fitzgerald tells me, Prince Napoleon is to marry a Scandinavian Princess, combination against Austria looks not unlikely. We could not help her in Italy at all events. The language of the Emperor to Baron Hübner confirms the unfavourable impression. Does L. Napoleon mean to make his son King of Rome? He has no title *yet*.'

The next entry referring to Sir John Young's despatch stolen from the pigeon-holes of the Colonial Office, and printed by a morning paper, requires a little explanation. In this document, which had been written some eighteen months before, he had advised the Government to hand over the seven Ionian islands (or at least five of them) to Greece, while transforming Corfu and Paxo into a British colony. He had withdrawn it privately by letter, and substituted exactly opposite advice, a few weeks later, but this was not known to the public or to the Continental Powers, and the untoward publication raised a great storm. The incident is fully dealt with in the chapter of the second volume of Lord Morley's *Life of Gladstone*, dealing with his romantic mission to the East.

D. January 12.—'Walpole came from the Cabinet in fits at Sir B. Lytton's strange way of recounting his strange Ionian romance. Life to him is a novel, and from his various changes and plans, following one another, may be said to come out in serials. I hope we may get well out of the Ionian difficulties we have made, though I fancy Labouchere suggested to Young the plan propounded in his unfortunate despatch.'

D. February 8.—'Yesterday Walpole told me that he was going out at once. He was in very low spirits, and must feel that he gives a blow which may be fatal. Lord Derby offered him the Govr.-Generalship of Canada,

but he would not take it. What shall I do? I do not want a new master at the H.O. and shall never have one to put the confidence in me that he has done. At present all is secret, but cannot be long, as Disraeli gave promise of the Reform Bill at no distant day.'

D.—'Henley will go too, and perhaps Peel; what effect will this have upon subordinates? It is of no use speculating what they will do, but it keeps one in great anxiety. I got home to dinner yesterday, though rather late. The Emperor's speech came last night, very friendly to England, and meant to be pacific in tone, but hardly so really as regards Austria.'

D. February 26.—'We had a long night on Thursday and many divisions—two on Roman Catholic oaths—unfavourable, but I confess I see no reason why they should swear more than other Dissenters, and only voted with the party. . . . To-day sees the break up of the Government, Walpole and Henley attend their last Cabinet. Walpole told Waddington yesterday, and he was much grieved. I rather fancy Estcourt will succeed—that won't do. My course is not clear to me and requires much thought, the disfranchisement of Leominster of one seat is a difficulty.'

The Reform Bill was introduced on February 28. My father had seen it before.

D. February 28.—'I saw the Bill on Saturday, and think that by the country it will be thought moderate, though there will be many objections, to the £10 franchise in counties especially, led by Walpole. Well! the day has arrived when the secret will be out.'

D. March 2.—'The secret was out on Monday, and caused much conversation. Neither Walpole nor

Henley attended the House, but Disraeli brought forward the Bill in a very skilful and adroit speech. It is difficult to say how it was taken or will be. Bright, Russell, and Roebuck were very hostile, but cheered by few. The Palmerstonians were still and impenetrable, yet Lowe said to me, as we went into the House, "You have a capital Bill and I will support it." Yesterday we all went to Lord Derby, and had a very large and enthusiastic gathering. He spoke admirably, and with great effect upon his supporters. He mentioned Walpole's and Henley's views as to borough franchise, and I fear that the anger of the former has had and will have bad consequences. Walpole is to me inexplicable, for I walked down with him, and left him in a mood of most friendly feeling to Lord Derby and the party. He said he would do what he could to promote union and cordiality, and yet he made a most vindictive speech, quoting Lord Derby against himself, quoting his letter to Lord Derby which impugns the honesty of his colleagues and party in adopting such a Bill, and finally imputing treachery to some of his colleagues in betraying his views on the borough franchise. Henley contented himself with a violent attack on the Bill in phrases of Radicalism which will everywhere be thrown in our teeth. I am vexed and disheartened at their course, but we must try to work the ship, though I fear in vain. The crew is no doubt weakened. The new appointments bring no strength.'

Sotherton Estcourt had, as he anticipated, succeeded Walpole at the Home Office, and proved an efficient and congenial chief.

D. March 12.—'As to the political sky I do not know what to say of it. All I want is that we should

maintain a Conservative position, and, if we fall, fall honourably. That we shall fall I believe, and I also believe that by nothing else could our opponents be so embarrassed.'

Lord John Russell's resolution, referred to below, was skilfully framed to catch both Whigs and Radicals. It condemned interference with the freehold franchise in counties, but demanded further lowering of the qualification in towns.

D. March 22.—'At the Home Office till 4, then the House, which was crammed for the debate on Lord John's resolution to stop our Reform Bill, which I, for one, am not enamoured with. Lord John was very dull, and Stanley followed with a volume of essay which he delivered in a feeble voice and without animation. Sturt spoke from behind against the Bill, but would vote against Lord John. He spoke coolly and with much assurance, and was effective and amusing. I then came up to dinner, and John found us here. We were in the House again by 9. The only speech of importance was an admirably expressed one by Horsman, against the Resolution though in favour of amending the Bill in many respects. Home with Lygon by one o'clock. At present one cannot guess the result though I believe it will be adverse, and then our constituents! So the Cabinet resolved unanimously. Not a wise resolve perhaps, but it may be the only one open to them.'

D. March 25.—'On Thursday night we had two great speeches, Bulwer Lytton and Cairns made a great impression; the former's was a wonderful piece of oratory. Cairns was argumentative, and his peroration telling and eloquent. Sidney Herbert was like himself, but I did not think his speech very effective.'

D. March 27.—‘Northcote began the debate and argued well, but held out hopes that the Government would submit to any alteration of their Bill, in a way which seemed to me base. He no doubt expressed himself in terms stronger than he meant to use, but he damaged our credit. John and I came here to dine while Cardwell spoke. On reading his speech since, I do not regret having missed it, for it was dull and in many parts absolute nonsense. Wortley spoke well, and Palmerston followed him, shewing himself no keen Reformer but adopting the Resolution, not as a vote of censure nor ground for resignation or dissolution. The latter he threatened that the House would prevent. He counselled a degrading submission to the House, and actually said we should be compelled to go on with the Bill. Whiteside replied in his way, and declared we would not. The evening was varied by a notice from O. Stanley of a vote of want of confidence if we failed to carry the second reading. I fancy this is an isolated move, but I hope we may pin him to it. It would do away with much complication.’

D. March 31.—‘I had not been long in the House when Jolliffe gave me a note from Disraeli desiring me to speak in the later part of the evening. Gladstone began in magnificent style, and made a great impression. The debate then fell into the hands of the crowd, and certainly nothing could be more curious or absurd than to see from 10 to 20 rising on each side as opportunity offered. I followed Mellor soon after 10, and had a good hearing and kind reception. I left out much, very much, that I meant and wished to say, but I was long enough, and what I did say appears to have pleased my own party greatly.’

D. April 1.—‘Well, the great struggle is over, and

we are thoroughly defeated, 330 to 291. What miscalculations have been made! In the morning Rose was with me, and had his list of men who were to come over and help us to exhibit, with a confidence which the result has belied, as the division list falsifies his anticipations. Name after name that was to have figured among the ayes swells the noes. . . . The House is the largest, except upon the election of Abercrombie as Speaker. Now what is to become of it all? I hope not a dissolution, as I believe it would knock the consolidated party to atoms. Disraeli seemed to me rather to state the merits of the Government in a leave-taking fashion. He was very calm, and never bitter or sarcastic. Cairns thought most highly of his speech. I not so much, and yet I dare say it was well suited for the purpose of detaching men from the other side, but party instincts were too strong. I hope that the Govt. may be handed over to the confederates, and we shall see what they will make of it. The House is adjourned until Monday and in the meantime there will be abundance of excitement.'

D. April 4.—'Fell in with Rose; he could tell nothing, but the surmise is that we remain in until the Congress is well started, and then, if a pretext be afforded, dissolve. It is a gloomy prospect, for the dissolution must involve questions of Reform, and what may be the result? Rose told me that Bright wished a dissolution and expected then, as he said, "to sit in the place Charles Wood occupies," i.e. in the front rank of Opposition with the view of the front ranks of Administration.'

D. April 5.—'Well! all is settled and a dissolution impends. By Easter we shall be with our constituents. Whatever one may think of this course it is at least an honourable one, and no one can impeach our conduct.

Indeed no one did so in the House, though the announcement fell like a shell among them. They would not believe that we should resort to such a step, or the majority would have been the other way, for there are many repenting, and none more than Sir John Johnson. Yesterday was most lovely and one longed to be in the country. Got my ride, found little to do at the H.O. The House wonderfully full and anxious. Disraeli never looked so excited. His speech was calm and dignified, and will, I think, make a favourable impression. Lord Derby I did not hear. Palmerston was feeble. Johnny spoke to the country, and announced his Reform Bill, which is much cut down from that of 1854. There was much twaddle to the constituencies, so I ran up for dinner with John, and returned to be kept until 12 o'clock. What stir and strife in prospect! I wrote to my agents.'

A few days afterwards he was again with his constituents, but although there were some threats of opposition, it came to nothing, and on Friday, April 29, he was once more returned unopposed, with a new Conservative colleague, Mr. Hanbury. He took part in the Kent, West Riding, and Westminster elections, seconding Sir Edmund Filmer, who, with Lord Holmesdale, was for the first time returned for West Kent. On May 12 he attended a dinner to the successful candidates at Cranbrook, where much amusement was caused by the mis-spelt telegram of excuse from Lord Holmesdale: 'Detained by beauty'! (duty). The Conservatives on the whole improved their position, gaining about twenty-five seats, but when the House re-assembled on May 1 the Opposition were in a small majority. A hostile amendment was at once moved by Lord Hartington condemning the Government, partly on the inadequacy of the Reform Bill, partly on the failure of Lord Derby to prevent the war between France and Austria, and his

alleged stimulation of it by the encouragement which he gave to Austria, and the threats which he had used towards France. Probably these latter charges would never have been made had Lord Malmesbury's correspondence been in the hands of members, but any stick is good enough to beat a dog, and it little matters upon what precise form of words a Government in a minority receives its quietus.

D. June 8.—‘To the House when the Queen's Speech was delivered, it was a very good one. In the evening an amendment was moved by Lord Hartington (well) and Hanbury (ill), Disraeli followed with one of his best and most biting speeches. Graham had a first-rate dressing, to my great joy!’

D. June 14.—‘Well! the Derby Ministry is at an end, 323 to 310. I was neither surprised nor vexed. It is disagreeable to be beaten, but what could one expect? Cairns ended the debate in an admirable speech, and we died game. The Queen shews her sense of Lord Derby's conduct by making him an *Extra* Knight of the Garter.’

D. June 16.—‘The Ministry seems to be forming very slowly and little leaks out. Campbell is Chancellor at 79! What turns of the wheel Fortune makes! The Rads and Independents are said to be very sore. We shall see in a few days. Bethell takes the Atty.-Generalship, having referred the matter to Lords Brougham, Wensleydale, and Kingsdown. Of underlings we hear nothing yet, but perhaps this morning something may appear in the papers.’

D. June 18.—‘Neither Bright nor Hayter, both of whom I met yesterday, spoke very favourably of the new lot. The former spoke with contempt of the “old gang” and “the Peelites” and the latter said “all the square men were put in round holes and vice versa.”’

D. June 19.—‘I gave up my keys of office yesterday and took my leave of the Home Office. Shall I ever be there again? I doubt it.’

D. June 22.—‘Lord Derby had a meeting yesterday morning attended by 193 M.P.s. He made, as usual, an admirable address and spoke with favour of many of us, Cairns, Whiteside, Hardy, Fitzgerald, Donoughmore, and Carnarvon, as future leaders.’

The Summary records the great comet, ‘a grand object, not visible from the old house except in the attic passage which had low windows to the back,’ a visit from Archbishop Sumner to consecrate the addition to the churchyard which now contains the family resting-place; and the following account with comment and afterthoughts on the political entries in the journal.

S.—‘During the winter Walpole was very uneasy about the coming Reform Bill, of which, however, I was not informed as to particulars; it did not turn out alarming, but, as Henley saw, it had no finality, and would not have allayed agitation. Not until 1859 did any crisis come, but by the end of January both Henley and Walpole had given in their resignations, though by request they held on till the Bill was to be produced. They actually left the Government on February 26. It was remarkable how well the secret was kept, for there was no suspicion in the party of the retirement, and I who knew the facts was often in a difficulty. Both were, I think, mistaken, as they really did not go out on any principle, and they risked a party collapse. Walpole was certainly not like himself in his explanation, and certainly not like Henley in his reasons. How moderate the Bill appears by modern lights and how terrible did that produced by Bright seem in those times!

'Sotherton-Estcourt succeeded Walpole and we got on capitally and became fast friends. Cairns was daily gaining credit, and everyone saw that he was a man of mark. Indications of Liberal union and patching up gave warnings of possibilities which we could not resist, and defeat became common. . . . On Lord John Russell's resolution against our Reform Bill Bulwer Lytton made his great oration. It was then, I think, that, on Hayter's sitting down on the gangway steps, he made the effective hit of "the bridge between the Whigs and Radicals;" 230 to 291 made resignation or dissolution imperative, and I was in favour of the former, as our foes were by no means consolidated. The latter was chosen, and caused consternation at all events. There were many penitents among those who had voted against us. I wonder always why Lord Hotham did so. He was a fine honourable man, but never gave a sign before he went into the Opposition lobby.'

'On my way North to vote for West Riding, a man in deep mourning, but with the Conservative colours on, got in. He was going to exercise the franchise in thirteen counties, and was on his way to the West Riding, as I was. He told us that he shut up his place of business at election time—was in mourning for life for his lost leader Colonel Sibthorp! and had to take up with the inferior authorities Newdegate and Spooner. Rotten eggs and other filth spoilt one or two suits for him generally. He turned out to be a well-known auctioneer at Tunbridge Wells—Mr. Richardson—a genuine old Tory.'

'By June 7 the new House was in working order: Hartington moved an amendment which I need not set out. He did it "well" but yawned in the middle of his speech. Stanley said "that man will succeed, for he has done what I never saw any man do before." No doubt it was from

nervousness, not assurance. Robert Hanbury was a poor seconder. . . . Malmesbury in his memoirs seems to think that our fate might have been averted—not for long, even if we had succeeded then, as seemed on the cards at one time. On the 18th I left the Home Office, where the work had been very light for some time; less, as Everest the experienced clerk said, than for 38 years. “Shall I ever be there again? I doubt it,” was my entry. Time settled that.’

CHAPTER VIII

A LEADER IN OPPOSITION (1859—1861)

THE position of an independent member in Opposition permits of more freedom of action, and gives greater opportunities of distinction and initiative in the House, than that of a subordinate member of a Government. It will be remembered that, at the party meeting held just after his resignation, Lord Derby had spoken of Gathorne Hardy as one of the future leaders, joining his name with those of Cairns, Whiteside, Fitzgerald, Donoughmore, and Carnarvon. Lord Donoughmore died in 1866, before his promise of a great career could be fulfilled, but two generations of able descendants have found a place on the roll of statesmen. The fiery orator, Whiteside, found a seat upon the Bench as Chief Justice of Ireland, and Sir Seymour Fitzgerald took an Indian Governorship; of the great careers of the others it is unnecessary to speak. After 1859, whenever the inner circle of leaders of the Opposition met in consultation as a sort of informal Cabinet, at times of political crisis, my father was always one of the ten or twelve summoned to give their views. He also did useful work as Chairman of Private Bill Committees, where his legal knowledge and business experience served him in good stead, and was also Chairman of the Gloucester Election Petition Committee. He heard and wondered at Lord Lyndhurst's great speech, recorded in Tenniel's fine cartoon in *Punch*, 'Nestor rebuking the chiefs.'

D. July 6, 1859.—'The House dull, but Lyndhurst,

whom I went to hear on the defences, clear, calm, forcible, his voice distinct, a great effort at such an age!'

The following week he comments on the peace signed between France and Austria.

D. July 13.—'The great news is the Peace signed by the two Emperors at their interview on the eleventh. Strange terms! and it is not a tranquillising thing to Europe to see the Napoleonic course. An Italian Confederation under the presidency of the Pope. Lombardy ceded—Venetia Austrian, but still of the Confederation. What will come next? Some Protestant power to be attacked. Will it be Prussia or England? I thoroughly mistrust the man, and look for a troublesome future.'

The Session was not an eventful one, and he soon had leisure to go to his country home. The foundation stone of his new house was laid in August.

D. August 30.—'After a rather threatening morning we had a charming day; and soon after three, on the arrival of the children from church, we formed our procession to the house. Mr. Edge's service was a very good one, and I trust that the prayers there offered may be answered. Mr. Brandon (the architect) handed the trowel to Jane, who did her work well. All was soon over, and sports and merriment concluded the day.'

He at once began to take a prominent and useful position in county business. On his first appearance at Quarter Sessions, to be sworn in as a magistrate, his experience as a former leader of the Bradford Sessions bar enabled him to hinder the Bench from making a disastrous mistake in an Appeal case. I have often heard him tell the story, which appears at length in the Summary of his Diary.

The Chairman, Lord Romney, turned round to the new magistrate and said 'Of course you agree with us that this appeal must be allowed?' and was somewhat surprised at receiving the answer 'I have been wondering how any counsel had the face to argue such a point!' Upon this the magistrates retired, and their new colleague soon converted them all to his opinion. Shortly afterwards Lord Romney retired, and he was himself elected Chairman of Quarter Sessions, a post which he held to the great satisfaction of the Bar and Bench until the calls of the Home Office compelled him to abandon it. Many of the leaders of the Sessions, when I joined them in 1870, had practised before him, and they were all loud in praise of his judicial capacity. He accepted the post 'as a duty not a pleasure.'

S.—'When staying with Lord Romney for the sessions in October, he suggested my becoming Chairman, and a complicated case which came before him, which he found it difficult to sum up, decided him to retire. He was a good man of business, honest as the day, but wanted powers of arrangement, and did not express himself clearly—nor, of course, was he much of a lawyer. When I was sworn in, the whole Bench, including himself, were misled, and persuaded to treat a residence of three years by a man, and two by his wife, as five years' residence of the latter! Fortunately Lord R. asked me, as I sat alone, whether my opinion was the same, which of course it was not. We withdrew, and I soon convinced them, expressing my surprise that counsel dared to argue such a point. That gave him a shake in his own estimation. On November 29, I was elected "nem. con.," on the motion of Lord Camden.'

He attended a great Conservative banquet at Maidstone,

when Lord Stanhope, the historian, took the chair. 'His first prominent taking part with the Conservatives since 1852, so that it was an event. I had a warm reception, and for the first time in my life made a speech in the dark, as the gas went out.' He also took a leading part in the formation of a new volunteer corps; his father and grandfather had been volunteers, and he took an hereditary interest in the movement. The last entry for the year refers to the meeting to form a company, and concludes with his reflections on the events of the year.

D. December 31.—'The Cranbrook meeting was well attended, and listened to Hope, Bell, and myself who were the only speakers; I subscribed £100. And so 1859 comes to an end. It has seen me in office and out again, though in, much longer than ever anticipated. How favoured on the whole we have been! Here abundance of work opens upon us. We have a course of usefulness if we are ready to take it. God grant us the will, the wisdom, and the means, and continue over us all in the coming year His gracious and sustaining care!'

The year 1860 opened peacefully at home. 'The country seems all peaceful and contented, but there is much to keep us anxious abroad. In our quiet life here it seems as if nothing could disturb us. Our hearts grow more and more to it.' He presided at Quarter Sessions for the first time on the 5th of January, when all went smoothly. 'I think that I was able to make the jury understand their duty, and lead them to do it.' He was elected a member of the Literary Club, with Sir John Lawrence and Sir Roderick Murchison, 'Good company at all events.' He valued the privilege and had 'many a pleasant dinner there, meeting men of varied acquirements and full of special and general information.' He mentions among those he met at his first dinner

his two newly elected colleagues, Lawrence and Murchison, Lords Carnarvon, Chelmsford, and Kingsdown, Morier, General Sabine, George Richmond the artist, Boxall, and Professors Bell, Partridge, and Owen. 'Very interesting it was.' He records a brush with John Bright in a Highways Bill debate on the 26th :

S. — 'I said a word after Bright on Highways good-humouredly. He took offence, however, though the worst I uttered was that it was surprising to see him "stare super antiquas vias," "stick up for the old roads." Perhaps the Latin was the insult, but he spoke quite warmly to me in the tea room "as to my always attacking him."'

He doubted the wisdom of the tactics of his party in opposing Gladstone's Budget, introduced on February 10, by which it was proposed to repeal the Paper duty, and remit £1,190,000 of taxation in consequence of the French treaty, and nearly a million more by the reduction of duties on food, timber, and hops.

D. *February 10.*—'On Tuesday at Lord Derby's meeting. They are too keen in my judgment, and I doubt the wisdom of such opposition as is contemplated. I hope we may be a very large *minority*.'

D. *February 20.*—'My mind misgives me about political movements. I doubt our wisdom in making this grand attack. I see the dangers of the Budget, but there is much that is good in it to which the only objection is time—always a comparatively feeble one. It makes me anxious, as I dread nothing so much as a new confusion. The country is sick of what look like faction fights, though we must of course maintain principles at any risks.'

The Budget went through, with the exception of the

repeal of the Paper duties which was thrown out by the Lords, encouraged by the majority of only nine, and the attitude of Lord Palmerston, who disliked his colleague's proposal, and had opposed it in the Cabinet. The financial history of this event is told once for all in Lord Morley's 'Life of Gladstone,' who there states his belief that the defeat of the Paper Bill by the Lords 'had no inconsiderable share in propelling Mr. Gladstone along the paths of Liberalism.' The only other Parliamentary question of any importance was the abortive Reform Bill introduced by Lord John Russell, which had but a brief and inglorious career. He proposed to reduce the qualification for the county franchise to £10, and for the borough franchise to £6, to take away one seat from twenty-five small boroughs, in favour of county divisions and large towns.

D. March 3.—'Lord John, in an apathetic House, in the dullest way, brought in his Reform Bill. I augur no good from the change if carried, and the weariness and want of courage in the House will secure its passing if pressed in earnest.'

D. March 14.—'Lowe spoke to me again on the Reform Bill, and is evidently most uneasy about it; there is to be a private meeting to which I am summoned by Lord Derby on Saturday, when I hope some course of action will be decided upon. Apathy is the order of the day.'

D. March 19.—'On Saturday there was a meeting of Peers and Commoners at Lord Lonsdale's to consider our course on the Reform Bill. We were a select circle, and discussed freely, the result being that no division will be called for on the second reading. Disraeli will begin this evening, and give a cue to his followers that they may not commit themselves. Our hope is that someone

on the other side may be forced to take up an amendment on going into Committee. If not the general feeling was in favour of a motion in favour of rating being made the basis.'

D. March 22.—'The Reform Debate began on Monday and has not been resumed, for after the Ballot on Tuesday the House was counted out and it became a dropped order, which is amusing enough. The contemptuous hatred of it is remarkable.'

D. April 24.—'I was asked to open the debate on our side after James, and did so. I was much cheered and congratulated at the end. Indeed, I have never had so much said to me by men of both sides before. I spoke out, and as far as possible expressed the secret feeling of half the House, calling on them to be sincere. I attacked Bright and Lord John. Stewart was under the gallery and enjoyed it. I came home to dine, and returned with Alfred, who was unfortunate, as there was no very stirring speech, though both Lord Robert Cecil and Peacock were good. There was no speech but Monckton Milnes and Thompson in favour. Edwin James was very damaging though nominally radical.'

D. May 4.—'The Reform Bill, after a speech from Gladstone unworthy of his reputation, was read a second time. Committed for June 4th. Can it pass?'

D. June 6.—'On Monday the Reform Bill came on again, and after a drawling debate on Mackinnon's motion was adjourned. Never was so discreditable an exhibition of a legislative assembly seen. A steady pertinacious speaking against time. They must drop it, as they have the Irish and Scotch Bills. Disraeli made a stinging speech on Lord John's announcement.'

D. June 9.—'A long night in the House ending in a

division on Ferguson's motion which involved the fate of the Reform Bill. We were beaten by 21. But for desertions and deliberate absences we should have won, or been so near as to put an end to the Bill. The debate was lively at the end. What will come next? Mackinnon's motion is yet alive, but I doubt its obtaining great support. I am not tranquil on the subject, though Lowe rather led me to suppose yesterday that we had strengthened those of the Government who wish to withdraw the Bill. No one seems to have a clear view of what is best or what is probable.'

D. *June 12.*—'The Reform Bill is gone, and, from Lord John's statement, our division of Thursday settled the matter. There were rumours in the morning that such would be the case, and the *Times* and *Morning Star* both had articles preparatory for it, but it was satisfactory to hear from the author's lips that for this Session at least we should hear no more of it. Disraeli spoke temperately and prudently. No cheering or exultation displayed on our side of the House.'

The summary written in 1884 is brief, and adds but little :

S.—'We had an abstract motion on the Budget, but I see that I was against it as a party move and hoped to be in a good minority. I am afraid it was *not* a good one, and I was more convinced of our imprudence, though I agreed in the objections to the financial proposals. Lowe was vehement in private against the Budget, and John Russell's Reform which followed. The contemptuous tone of the House may be imagined, for there was a count out, and the Reform Bill became a dropped order! At a Whig

party at Lowe's, Bear Ellice and others showed their want of love for it. After Easter I said my say upon it, after another meeting at Lord Derby's, and spoke out the sentiments of many a silent acquiescing member. I see that Bulwer Lytton made a great oration. I was not satisfied with our "watching and waiting" policy. However, the Irish and Scotch Bills were dropped, and the English one dragged on with all parties clogging its wheels. On the 11th of June there was an end of it by withdrawal.'

He spoke on various other occasions in March 'on one of Locke King's insidious attacks upon the Church' and on the Budget about hops, in which, as a Kentish squire, he now had a strong interest. 'We should have defeated the Government on an early division, but their whips, and the delay caused by so many speaking, enabled them to muster a majority. I do not know why, but I was flurried, and did not speak to my own satisfaction at all, because hurried. I did not rise until I saw that Gladstone had got what he wanted by drawling out his speech, viz. full Ministerial benches, and so there was no longer object for silence.'

He 'was much pressed to take up the cudgels against Gladstone on the Eating House License Bill' and 'spoke on wine licensing, and was most favourably listened to, and had many compliments paid me afterwards. Some said had we divided when I sat down the Government would have been beaten.' Later on, in Committee, he got in a good amendment which all the House adopted. No other political event affecting his career took place in that year, but on August 27 he received a letter from Lord Wynford sounding him as to his accepting the office of Chief Whip, a proposal which surprised and amused him

Lord Wynford to Hardy, August 27. Private

' MY DEAR HARDY

' There has been a conversation floating about the Club as to the necessity of finding a fit man to supply the place of Sir Wm. Jolliffe. As an old friend of your father, and with a thorough confidence in your peculiar qualifications to sustain the difficult and confidential duties of the office, I wish to suggest to you the possibility of such an offer being made to you, and the necessity of being prepared to receive it. If it would be acceptable to you, I don't know any man of the present day who combines in himself so many of the requisites for such an office, and none to whom the confidence of the party would be so frankly and cheerfully given.'

No notice of this proposal is to be found in the Diary, but my father gives his views of the suggestion very decidedly in his Summary:

S.—' I can hardly help laughing even now at a note of Lord Wynford's (August 27/60) proposing to me, or rather suggesting that an offer would be made to me, to succeed Sir William Jolliffe. Was there ever a post for which I was, or am, more unfit? Imagine giving up the active part of the fight for directing the technical details under the orders of others! The office suits some well enough, but they must be made for it, and take to it earnestly. I do not suppose that I was really thought of.'

At some ruridecanal meetings he met his neighbour, Henry Hoare, whose zeal for the revival of Convocation is commemorated by the Memorial Hall erected at the Church House.

S.—‘He did much for the revival of Convocation, and the principle of Lay Coadjutors may yet bear fruit. His whole mind was in the subject, and I remember Mr. Wilson of Cranbrook telling us how he never saw the Volunteer Review in Swift’s Park because Mr. Hoare got hold of him there and drew him away from the spectacle he had come to see!’

At home all went well, and on August 24 his eldest son’s coming of age was celebrated. The account of this event is thus given in the Diary :

D. August 25.—‘Well! the great fête of the 24th is over, and if we had selected it for the worst day in point of weather, we could not have selected better. And yet we must not grumble, for though the wind blew and the rain poured down inside the tent, a dripping one in many places, all were cheerful and full of enjoyment. Edge proposed Stewart’s health in an excellent speech, and indeed we cannot complain of anything but weather. We had been to the Cranbrook Choral Meeting in the afternoon, which was well attended and calculated to do good. Inside the house with all our youngsters merriment is abundant. Our fireworks gave pleasure, though the great finale was a failure, and we hear that dancing went on with much spirit till 12 o’clock. May our dear boy’s career be all that has been wished for him, and, should he succeed me here, may he do more for the people around than I have done or shall do! We dined about 300 and there were a good many children at tea.’

S.—‘On August 24 we celebrated Stewart’s coming of age, which had taken place in the Spring. Memories of a miserable day rise before me. It was exceptional for wind and rain, even for that exceptionally wet season. We had

a large family gathering, and all but weather went as we could wish. Poor old Hague's efforts were painfully amusing: "For 50 years I have been a tenant on this estate," again and again "O dearie O dearie, I thought I had it all right," but it never came as he wished. Our bon-fire was blown away. The fireworks, which were let off far away from the new house for fear of fire, were carried to it, and we heard them rattle through the rafters—but no harm came of it, and merriment prevailed in spite of everything adverse.'

Later on in the year he visited Ridgway, 'a Shrewsbury boy, who welcomed us heartily into Kent.' There he met his future daughter-in-law, the present Countess of Cranbrook.

S.—'We paid a visit to Fairlawn, which I mention as the "little girl," now Stewart's wife, set a chimney on fire, which poisoned the atmosphere during the latter part of our stay.'

The year 1861, which commenced with bitter frost, was a year of much public and private sorrow. In Parliament there was something of a lull, and the history of my father's political action may be given very shortly. On February 22 he went to Oxford to put on his master's gown in order to get a vote to give against Gladstone. He never in fact gave such a vote, as he successfully contested the University seat against him at the next election.

D. *February 22.*—'Went down with Jane to Oxford, where we took up our quarters at the Mitre. I called on the Provost (Hawkins of Oriel), who is wonderfully little changed in appearance, and was very cheery and sociable.

Read the Articles with the Dean, and, as the evening was wet, did no more.'

D. April 18.—'I rode to the House at 12, and was there till nearly 6 taking part in the debate on the Trustee Bill. I was much complimented by the Speaker and others. We threw out the Bill by 29, and then performed the same duty most unexpectedly to the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill, changing a minority on the last occasion to a majority of 5.'

D. May 2.—'Yesterday spoke on the Religious Worship Bill, and to the satisfaction of my friends. We had a capital majority. Dined at the Mansion House, where Lord Derby made a capital very political speech.'

He took part in the great division of May 30 on Mr. Horsfall's proposal to abolish the tea duties instead of the paper duties.

D. June 1.—'On Thursday the great division came about one o'clock, and we lost by 15, for which I cannot feel any regret. I always foresaw that absences from our side would do away with the effect of the unwished-for help of the Irish. I believe the Government was only supported by about 7 of the whole body of Irish members. I cannot but be glad that so corrupt an attempt to coerce the Government failed, for it affects all Governments and parties. Gladstone spoke like a man going to be beaten, and to the last Brand thought defeat most probable. All excitement is now over, and the session will now run a quiet course and I hope end early.'

D. July 13.—'We helped to swell the division on the University Bill, which however kept us late. Government had behaved shabbily about it, and Gladstone was plausible

as usual. . . . *I hope Northcote may succeed him at Oxford.*

On June 8 he comments on the death of Cavour: 'A great event. Who can tell what may be the results? He alone seems to have held all the threads, and to have managed all policy, both internal and external.'

D. June 24.—'Saturday was a disastrous night. A tremendous fire on the Southwark side of the river near London Bridge, in which Braidwood and five of his men perished. He will be a great loss, as his name was always associated with the excellence of the Fire Brigade. Lord Campbell, who had a party on Saturday night, was found dead yesterday morning. How sudden it seems! His great power of work and active habits made people forget his great age.'

D. August 1.—'I have lost nothing in Parliament by my absence but the gossip about the changes; they are certainly strange, Lewis at the War Department, Sir R. Peel Secretary for Ireland! Earl Russell took his seat in the Lords on Tuesday. I, for one, shall not miss him in the Commons.'

To return to private events, this sad year was marked by the first great domestic sorrow, the illness of his eldest daughter Jane, which commenced on March 22, just after her eighteenth birthday. On that day, March 16, the Diary, never without its note of such milestones in the family history, gives expression to my father's prayers and hopes for her future. 'Janie's 18th birthday. God bless her in body and soul! Now that she is entering upon womanhood I trust that she may go on in a quiet path of usefulness and happiness;' but it was not to be. Only a week later she was taken seriously ill, and the doctor at

once reported that it was a grave case. There was a rally, indeed an apparent recovery, and on July 14 she started with my father and her younger sister Edith for a tour in Scotland.

All were in high spirits, and the merry party travelled by way of Edinburgh, the Trossachs, Inveraray, Oban, Inverness, Aberdeen, and Braemar, to Dunkeld. So far all went smoothly, and the pages of the Diary are full of the delight all felt in the beauties of the Highlands, which were entirely new to the younger members of the party. On August 2 my father describes his first sight of a place which he often visited afterwards :

D. August 2.—‘The scenery about the river began to improve and gain in beauty as we approached Balmoral, which is certainly situated in a lovely spot. The group of hills into which it looks is very beautiful, and the river views charming; the drooping birches mixed with fir, larch, and heather, broom, and fern, spread over all the lower ground and give it the character of a continued glade.’

At Dunkeld they were asked by their friends the Cairnses to leave their quarters at the Inn and join them at their shooting lodge, Rohallion, a lovely place near Murthly Castle, where some ten years later the youngest of the party made her home during her short married life. Here the blow fell. Janie’s terrible illness began again, and it was not until August 20 that the poor sufferer could be moved, first to Perth, and then to London. From that time till June 21, 1862, when she died, there was scarcely a gleam of hope. A few lines from the Summary represent many pages of the Diary, all full of the one sad subject :

S.—‘The next day we were at Rohallion, the hospitality

of whose occupants, the Cairnses, can never be forgotten. Janey began her long illness on August 5th, and ah! how she suffered at times! Thankfully do I think of the intervals of freedom from the worst attacks, which enabled us to relieve the Cairnses from the burden we had so unwittingly brought upon them, by removing our darling to Perth, whence in a few days we took her South (19th to 21st of August), and, after a day or two in London, were at Hemsted on the 26th of August. My Diary is a sad chronicle of Janey's sufferings—her mother's consequent failing—with twilight gleams of painlessness which hardly alleviated the despair which doctor's reports at the best involved. On October 15th we moved from the old house to the new, and had a magnificent day for the purpose and our patient bore it fairly.'

S.—'Our sufferer, bearing her trial patiently, lingered on at times tortured by the acutest pain, and yet on her birthday she could say, "thinking over the last year in the night she would not give up an hour of it." On June 21st, 1862, at about 5 P.M. she entered into her rest, pressing her mother's hand to the last. The old nurse said: "Her victory is won." Her last articulate words were when her mother, shortly before the end, came back into the room after a very short absence—"Dear mammy." It was right that the tender love which had never failed her should be so recognised. How calmly one can think of it all now, and yet the sorrow went deep!'

Shortly before this he lost his eldest and dearly loved sister Annis Wood, who died in her sleep quite unexpectedly on November 17, 1860. His wife's mother, Mrs. Orr, 'so dear to us all,' died on January 17, so three generations of the family lost members within a very short

time. My sister's death was the first break in the happy and highly favoured household, and was deeply felt at the time. I can still recall the long evenings of that sad autumn, when we used to meet in her room, and my father read out to us. 'Pickwick' and Bulwer-Lytton's 'What will he do with it?' were two of the books he read to us, and the memory of the scene and of his beautiful and sympathetic voice is still fresh in my recollection. Janie was next in age to myself, the eldest daughter and for eight years the only girl. There is hardly a 16th of March through the long years from 1860 to 1906 when my father's Diary does not contain some entry of loving remembrance of his lost darling.

It was indeed a sad year. The great struggle in America had begun, and the 'Trent' affair, when the Confederate Envoys were seized on board a British steamer, nearly involved us in hostilities with our kinsmen on the other side of the Atlantic. My eldest brother, then in the Rifle Brigade, was sent abroad with his regiment in anticipation of the warlike operations which were then considered almost unavoidable. We now know how much we are indebted to the Royal family, and especially to the lamented Prince Consort, for our escape from so terrible a calamity. It was the last great service he was able to do for the country that never learnt to value him properly until it lost him.

D. December 16, 1861.—'The latest bulletin of the Prince Consort's health was the first to alarm, and has been followed speedily by his death, of which we hear this morning. It is a terrible calamity for the Queen and the nation, and a sad break up to that happy family which has given so touching an interest to Royalty in this country. I fear much for the Queen's health and spirits, when I think of her state after the death of the Duchess of Kent. This is really a public sorrow, and comes at a great crisis of affairs. War may be

upon us any day, and I see little hope that we can avoid it. Indeed the steps taken by Government make me feel that they have reason to feel pretty certain that it is at hand. Stewart must be now far on his way. God watch over him, for he is a dear fellow !'



THE NEW HOUSE, HEMSTED, 1862.

CHAPTER IX

THE OXFORD ELECTION (1862—1865)

THE year 1862 was not an active one in Gathorne Hardy's political career. He remained as much as possible at Hemsted to be with his wife, who was feeling the strain of her daughter's long and hopeless illness. Mr. Lowe's Revised Code, 'the most important domestic question of the year,' was met by a series of Resolutions moved by Walpole, which led to considerable modifications of the proposals of the Government.

D. March 26, 1862.—'The Education Debate last night was not very lively. Walpole made his points but heavily. (Bernal Osborne said "like a high-stepping hearse horse.") My impression is that the Government will concede something and avoid a division, and that is, I believe, the general wish.'

D. May 16.—'I have been in London from Tuesday evening till this morning. . . . My presence in the House was very important as it turned out, for we threw out the Church Rate Bill by one vote, 287 to 286. There were great rejoicings.'

D. June 2.—'There is to be a meeting at Lord Derby's at 2.30 on Stansfeld's economical motion, founded no doubt on Disraeli's speech. Palmerston's moving an amendment looks like "confidence or no confidence." I hope we shall not in any way ally ourselves with the Rads, and, for my

part, the objects of expenditure seem good, though I dare say there is waste in details. I am for peace and no crisis. Curious that the Derby Day should come at such a time, as it did before.'

This motion of Stansfeld's was 'that the national expenditure was capable of reduction without compromising the safety, the independence, or the influence, of the country.' Palmerston therefore moved a resolution expressing a hope that, with due regard to economy, the House would recognise its obligation to provide for the security of the country at home and the protection of its interests abroad. The Conservatives proposed a further amendment, insisting more strongly on economy, and Walpole was selected to move it. The defeat of the Government was expected (Low and Sanders's History, p. 100). When Walpole withdrew his resolution, Disraeli remarked that 'he hoped to-morrow (Derby Day) honourable gentlemen would not be so unlucky as to find their favourites bolting. If they are placed in that dilemma,' he said, 'they will be better able to understand and to sympathise with my feelings on this occasion.'

D. June 5.—'At Lord Derby's on Monday; nothing could be better than his speech, and its thoroughly Conservative tone and repudiation of alliance with Radicals carried the meeting with him. So did the amendment he read at the time, but as soon as we began to think it over misgivings arose, confirmed by Palmerston's course on Tuesday night. Walpole has been put in a most unfortunate position, and I fear will feel Disraeli's taunts greatly. Still I am not sure that for the party he has not done good in withdrawing the amendment; for after Pam's declaration there would have been a good many defaulters, and so division within exposed. I am delighted that we are out of

the whole affair, which appeared to me a sham and humbug, and I must say that Pam was right in saying that the acceptance of our amendment would have been a humiliation, and for that by our heads it was meant.'

Two or three entries in the Diary of public events of moment may be given here. He saw the Prince of Wales take his seat in the House of Lords, 'not an imposing ceremony, though one I shall never see again'—a rash prophecy as it turned out.

D. February 22, 1863.—'Walpole told me a curious anecdote of the Prince Consort sending for him on the subject of Palmerston's Reform Bill, and, after a while, digressing upon foreign politics. He was very severe upon Louis Napoleon, and mentioned a saying of his to Lord Clarendon—You know that the Crimean War was undertaken for Italy and Poland. Lord C. replied that it was the first time he had heard it. The mention of the latter country makes one look at French policy, now that Poland is once more, and on such good grounds, insurgent. Prussia is opening a way to French interference.'

D. April 16.—'The sad news of Tuesday was the death of Cornwall Lewis, which struck everyone with sorrow. On Walpole's motion the House adjourned, as I think, not in accordance with precedent. Some feel that it was placing Lewis too high to enter on the Journals of the House a compliment not paid to Perceval who fell in the lobby, nor to Sir Robert Peel. Again the precedent may be very disadvantageous in future, and embarrass in case of other like deaths. The feeling for Lewis was so general that no one grudges him any compliment, but it may prove unwise to have done it in that form.'

D. April 30.—'My church-rate affair finished yesterday

successfully. We had a majority of 10 against Trelawney's Bill, and for myself personally I received so many compliments that, though I am most conscious how wanting I was on many points, I must have made some impression on the House.'

D. May 7.—'On Monday we had Gladstone's exhibition of rage and vindictiveness at the reception of his proposal to tax charities. Brilliant but thoroughly sophistical.'

D. March 29, 1863.—'25 years ago my married life began! It seems like a dream, so swiftly has the time passed away! Yet a quarter of a century sounds a long period. How happy I have been! What a companion, friend, and counsellor, I have found in my dear wife I need not say. God grant that our future union, however long or short it may be, may not be marred by any check to mutual confidence and love! Our children are all with us. We have, I think, the warm affection of all of them: no mean blessing.'

On July 6 with my mother and two sisters he started on a foreign tour, a sure sign that Parliament was not very exciting. He travelled by Ghent, Cologne, Coblenz, Frankfort, Homburg, Heidelberg, Bale, Geneva, Chamouni, Martigni, Ouchy, Fribourg, Interlaken, Lucerne, Zurich, Coire and the Splugen, and on July 31 reached Chiavenna, where he heard of the prorogation of the House.

D. July 31.—'Parliament ended on Tuesday, the day named to me by the Speaker a month ago. The Queen's Speech has no legislation to boast of, but Greece, Ionian Islands, Brazil, and Poland afford subjects. Credit taken for a general repealing statute of old laws which was taken upon trust and never discussed! I hope Poland may not give trouble, but Lord Russell has not been prudent, and

has had a sharp reply from Russia. Monckton Milnes to be a Peer.'

The lovely scenery was a real joy to him; the various descriptions need not be given at length, but one sample may be taken as a specimen of the whole.

D. August 1.—'Those who content themselves with the Via Mala have faint notion of the glories of the Splugen Pass; indeed, they have not really arrived at it. The view back as you ascend from Splugen towards the village, and the grand rugged mountains behind it, down the Bernardino Pass on the left, and the Rheinthal on the right, is very beautiful. Edie, Emy, and I walked up through the fir forests, and some way beyond the Gothic Gallery, and then waited for the carriage. It made the ascent to the summit in about $2\frac{1}{4}$ hours. We had started more than half an hour before it. The descent was by a wonderful road conducted down by more zigzags than I could count, the turns over the ravines somewhat alarming Jinty. Horses and man were steady, if not there certainly would be danger. Enchanting scenery, most wild but very attractive to see, though I could not envy the residents in those valleys; before reaching Chiasso and Dolcino trees and vegetation were almost gone, but cultivation began in patches here and there as we got lower. The fall of the Medesino we thought superb; the platform hangs over it, and you look quite into the foam and spray, which, as the fall is of 700 feet, is not a little. Beautiful Irises were formed below us. Beggars and stone-hurlers were there in crowds; in fact, since we reached the Italian frontier every child has begged! We had a light lunch on trout at Campo Dolcino, and were well treated at the little Albergo del Poste. The road thence hither I hardly know

whether to put second to any portion of the pass. A narrow valley with a dashing torrent of the finest water, overhung by mountains with many a rocky dark ravine; some of the most savage sterility, others crowned with fir trees—rocks hurled in every direction both at the bottom of the valley and along its sides wherever a resting-place could be found, and the bright green, first of isolated chestnut trees, then of groves, among the rugged boulders. All this formed a scene so strange, and yet so alluring, that one was never tired of calling out to attract notice to some new and lovely combination of these striking features. Vines, mulberry-trees, peach-trees, began to line the road, and we felt the Italy which we had entered in one of the most bleak and barren of all parts of the pass. The day was glorious, a fresh bracing breeze which became softer as we descended. Had the dust been less our pleasure would have been greater; but we shall forget that when the scenes of the last two days rise to memory's eyes.'

Milan, Verona, and Venice followed; rather a serious undertaking in the heat of August. On the journey to Baveno he reflects on the recent battles.

D. August 12.—'Magenta and Novara, redolent of slaughter, were the only places to which our attention was called. It remains to be seen whether the latter field of battle may not prove as unfortunate as the former. To a casual observer like myself all looks well in what we have seen in Lombardy. In Venetia, and in Venice especially, there is no doubt of the feeling towards Austria, and I confess the crowds of foreign soldiers, unsympathising with those among whom they keep order, would rouse patriotic feeling even in cold hearts. Trieste rises upon the ruined trade of Venice, and it is natural that Austria should seek

to place her fortunes as regards trade where permanence may be hoped for. 1848 proved that she cannot rely upon Venice. Still the Italian question is not closed, and the policy of Turin must be a wise one, to consolidate and secure the provinces she so eagerly and easily grasped. Some were dishonourably bought, some perhaps are not honourably retained if the vox populi is to be the test. Of this, however, we have not enough information, and I am one who am anxious to see Italy one and free, if such a result can be fairly and justly accomplished. I have made a digression unwittingly, but let it stand.'

They returned by Fido, Bellinzona, Lucerne, and Paris, and reached Hemsted on August 24, 'Glad to be home again,' much as they had enjoyed their travels.

1864 commenced quietly enough in Parliament, where on February 6 'Goschen seconded the address admirably. Disraeli was good, and so was Palmerston, but Lord Derby appears to have made *the* speech. However, all looks as if things would go smoothly at present.' On March 13 he took part in a deputation to Sir George Grey at the Home Office, which seems to have impressed him much. I give the account from the Summary written in 1884, as it contains his considered views on the prerogative of mercy and Criminal Appeal after his own tenure of the office of Home Secretary :

S.—' A Home Secretary lives in a house of glass, and all his actions are

" Put in a note book, learnt, and conned by rote,
To cast into his teeth."

Sir George Grey was very sensitive to criticism, and was perhaps too easily drawn from standpoints where he would have been safe. He got discredit for some pardon

in which the public did not sympathise, and expressed their sentiments in no measured terms. Then he tried severity, and a man named Hall being left for execution at Stafford for the murder of a most faithless and abandoned wife, who taunted him with her infidelities until she goaded him into the crime, he declined to interfere. Many efforts were made, and he wrote peremptorily to refuse. On Sunday, March 13th, I fell in accidentally with Adderley and others, who begged me to accompany them to the Home Office, where they had an appointment, to make one last attempt to save the man's life. I agreed to go, but said that whatever Sir George Grey's decision was I would accept and defend it, or at least not attack it. I felt sure he would act on his own conscientious views, and though I felt that the execution would revolt public feeling, if he continued firm I would not blame him for doing what he thought his duty. Sir George Grey was very kind and complimentary to me in asking specially for my opinion. I gave it, as did others, clearly, but sympathetically, and he was very much affected, even to tears, hiding his face in his hands. He asked me to remain when the others went, and we talked the case over, I telling him exactly how I should act, however his judgment at last might be. As I went out, he said "You will soon be here in my place, and gladly shall I give it up!" He had been much wrought upon, and his nerves were unstrung. The end was commutation of punishment to penal servitude, which ended this year (1884), and public sentiment was unchanged, for Hall was received by a sympathising crowd on coming out of prison. All sorts of schemes are projected for relieving the Secretary of State of this invidious duty, but he must be a final resort, or some one in his place. New trials, appeals and so forth, do not meet the incidents which mitigate or enhance the offence,

and the intervention of mercy may be necessary when justice has had her final say. In some hands that prerogative must remain, or humanity will be outraged by the letter of the law. Definitions of murder will not do. Extenuating circumstances are the refuge of faint-hearted jurors, or of men set against capital punishment. First and second degrees are all very well, but if they depend upon strict law there must be a looser of knots left tied, behind. Look at the Mignonette case¹ just decided, murder in the first degree—six months' imprisonment. Could you make a law for that? But I leave the discussion, perhaps may say more when I come to my own time.'

The next entry gives the first indication of that important turning-point in his career, the Oxford University Election :

D. May 27.—'To-morrow I go to the Oxford Conservative dinner, somewhat reluctantly, as I do not see my way clearly in that matter. It is obvious that Lygon, Mowbray, and others, look to me for fighting a battle there, yet, highly as I might prize the honour, the risk of failure is not inconsiderable, and then where am I?'

D. May 30.—'Just back from Oxford, where I went on Saturday as the guest of Lygon at All Souls. We had a good party at the dinner on Saturday evening, but I confess that I did not shine. I spoke with embarrassment and hesitation, and said nothing to the purpose. I know not why, but so it was. I spent my time pleasantly though.'

I take the short account of Parliamentary events from the Summary.

S.—'In Parliament we had the retirement of Stansfeld on the Mazzini affair. He did not make it impressive, and

¹ A case where shipwrecked and starving mariners killed and ate a comrade.

might have put his case better. Lowe fell on the Inspectors' reports, and no doubt was rather hardly abandoned by the Government, but I am afraid he did not make friends. In the House his defence was not strong. My impression is that his eyesight was at fault, more than his mind or intentions. Bruce succeeded; not a bad fellow, but dry and hard, and not taking as a speaker. He had been a co-student with me at Hugh Hill's. The Government had many small defeats, and were losing hold of the House. In May Gladstone proclaimed his radicalism on Baines' Bill, to the great annoyance of Palmerston, I should imagine.' [See Morley's 'Gladstone,' vol. ii. p. 166.]

The following passage refers to the German occupation of the Duchy of Holstein and her war with Denmark in 1863 :

S.—'We had several small meetings at Lord Derby's on the Danish affairs, but could take no step till the conference was concluded. In the meantime Denmark was going to the wall. No one desired war, and especially single-handed, but there was a deep sympathy for the Danes, who, it was felt, were being bullied by the two big Powers. In the meantime, to show how things have changed, the Permissive Bill had 35 supporters against 292! The Ashanti debate I well remember as an instance of a good cause lost by over-advocacy. Sir John Hay, who had made a most favourable impression, and drawn out much sympathy for his brother, suddenly turned all his guns upon the Government, and attacked their policy right and left on all subjects. "Oh," said the Liberals—"a party question—we are free!" Some went away—some changed, and so the Government had a majority of seven. They would have inevitably been in a minority but for Hay's imprudence.'

S.—‘Garibaldi was in England, and why he was hurried out has never been made quite clear. I did not mix with his courtiers, though not unappreciative of his heroism. An inspired—what?—soldier? or Quixotic knight? His actions were decided, his utterances idiotic, or worse. Still, in his way a true man, speaking and acting as he thought was his duty, not always wisely for himself or his country; and yet he did wonders for Italy and will be revered.’

S.—‘The Danish question could hardly be left undiscussed, and Palmerston having made a statement that was by no means decided, though “no material aid” was to be given at present, Disraeli announced our intention to call attention to the subject. A meeting of what may be called the Cabinet of the Opposition took place at Lord Derby’s on the 28th of June, where we drafted a Resolution, and it was followed by a party gathering at Lord Salisbury’s, “very successful both in numbers and spirit.” On the 4th of July the debate began, and ended on the night of the 8th; there was much good speaking, of which I do not think the Government had the best. At all events, it was so on the first two nights, and although we did not secure the votes of men like Cobden and Horsman, their voices were strong against the Ministry. On the 7th I followed Layard at an inconvenient hour, but had an audience. There was a disagreeable episode which interrupted me, while a discussion went on as to the use of the word “calumnious” in regard to a statement of Layard’s. Well do I remember feeling calm and undismayed as the storm raged, and was finally quelled by the Speaker pronouncing my language Parliamentary. Indeed, I may say that on no occasion that I can call to mind were the terms in which I expressed myself, however warmly, condemned by authority. Palmerston had spoken against me among the rest, yet,

strangely enough, he had applied the very same word to remarks by the very same person, as Pope Hennessy showed in the course of the evening. In spite of the long interruption I got through my oration to the satisfaction of my friends, and Cobden and Bright both spoke personally to me, and in a very kindly tone. The former, I recollect, came and sat by me some time, and said how he agreed with much that I had said. Palmerston expressed a very favourable opinion. Mowbray was delighted, and rushed out of the House at the end, saying "This will do for Oxford." We were beaten by 18 and only had 9 majority in the Lords, a pretty good proof that Lord Derby had not the despotic sway then assigned to him.'

The autumn was spent happily at Hemsted, where among the guests were numbered Mr. and Mrs. Lowe and Count Strzelecki.

S.—'The Lowes were among our guests in the autumn. She amused the ladies by her exuberant conversation, and gave pleasure by her beautiful drawings of scenes in many parts of the world that she had visited. He made himself agreeable, but how hot he was against Gladstone and his "flesh and blood" theories! It was about that time that he was making his Northern tour, and receiving great adulation from working men, responding by promises too fatally fulfilled. I think I am right as to dates, but at least I remember Lowe's caustic comments upon his dangerous language. Mrs. Lowe died this year (1884), and, although Lord Sherbrooke apparently retains good physical health, I fear it does not serve him as of old. It had done hard work in its time and his mental toil in Oxford days would have injured a less strong intellect. Pupils sometimes took up twelve hours of his day, and he never ceased

learning while he taught. He was a good tutor to me, and with some little roughnesses and breaks, we have kept pretty good friends always.'

S.—'I see among our guests Count Strzelecki, who became more and more a friend, and was always welcome. Many a laugh have we had over his stories, told inimitably, and with a manner that gave them zest. He had been everywhere, seen everything, and was an admirable raconteur. His accounts of some of the public meetings he attended in 1848 were excellent. The Maratist who wished 3000 Aristocratic heads to fall, foiled by the hatter who complained that he would lose 3000 customers, and the cook who wholly declined to change places with his master to the ruin of his digestion and the loss of his income.'

On January 21, 1865, he records a proposal made to him to join the Great Northern Board, which he declined. His business qualifications brought him many similar offers, but he never was tempted, and never held a seat on any Board except that of the New River Company, on which he sat of right as the holder of an entire Adventurer's share, until he nominated his eldest son to succeed him. The Governorship of that undertaking was pressed upon him shortly before this date, but he declined the responsibility. Parliament and the duties of a country gentleman amply occupied his time. On February 8 he received another offer.

D. *February 8.*—'I cannot express my surprise at being asked on my arrival in London to allow myself to be put in nomination for the Chairmanship of the House. Taylor brought me the message from Disraeli, and received a very prompt and unambiguous answer in the negative. I find a great heartiness in men ready to support me, but none

expecting me to take it. In fact the idea of contesting it is now given up, and wisely, for why court a defeat ?'

Shortly afterwards he made his first speech on a subject upon which he was destined to gain great laurels in a few years.

D. March 29.—'Last night I got over my Irish Church speech. It was well received on all sides, and especially on my own, though the House was not full, as it was nearly 8 when I rose. Gladstone followed in a most mischievous harangue, condemning the Church, but putting off to the future dealing with it. He was vociferously cheered by the Rads and voluntaries. He confirmed Mr. Masheder's report to me, written long ago, that he was going to join the foes of the Irish establishment; his arguments went to all establishments. A strange man!'

An opposition had been stirred up at Leominster by the rumour of the Oxford candidature. My father's position in the matter is made perfectly clear by his correspondence with Mowbray and others. He indicated that he would accept the seat if elected, but that he declined to put himself forward as a candidate; he was naturally anxious not to fall between two stools.

D. April 2.—'Oxford is hampering me terribly; but for it I doubt if a contest would have been stirred up at Leominster, and I hear Hindmarch asks my voters to vote for him if I go to Oxford. This alone must make me stay in order to save the borough. On the other hand if I do not let them use my name at Oxford all their labour is thrown away.'

The correspondence on the subject, so far as it is material, follows:

Mr. Henry Hoare writes on January 6, 1865, airing his views on Convocation :

‘ Without at all wishing to be mixed up in Oxford politics, yet as agent to the Oxford Churchmen’s Union, and in many other ways, it often happens to me to hear important and influential men discuss the question how to vote at the next election for the University. The return of a Conservative would justly be taken to indicate confidence on religious grounds in the Conservative party, who seem to me totally undeserving on those grounds. The more the pity ; for the Church is their cry, though we know instances of great men among them who may be compared to buttresses, because they never entered a Church. You know best the feeling in the House of Commons ; to me it appears as dead as dead can be on what must be called our side of the Speaker’s Chair, and my indignation, which is not soon excited, has not often been greater than when certain friends near here have been oppressed with the weight of religious questions, and yet ignore them without any reference to Convocation, as if it were a body which could not be of the least use. If any one oppose the sitting members, it strikes me very forcibly that there should be an understanding among the heads of our party as to the Church Organisation which they will support and encourage on both sides of the Irish Channel. Why for instance cannot the Archbishop of Armagh be put out of his torture ? Of course he ought to hold his Provincial Synod, the Queen and her Cabinet warmly approving.

‘ Faithfully yours,

‘ H. HOARE.

‘ Have you any objection to my printing this ? ’

January 11, 1865. Gathorne Hardy to Henry Hoare. [Copy in my mother's handwriting, the only occasion I know of her acting as his amanuensis in political affairs.]

Private.

‘DEAR MR. HOARE

‘I must request you will not print any letter addressed to me in reference to Oxford politics. The position which I occupy is sufficiently embarrassing already, as I am not a candidate for the University, nor have I as yet been asked to stand; my present constituency would have perfectly contented me, I have never in any way put myself forward for any other, and I certainly should not have had the presumption to think of the University.

‘The honour of representing it, if elected, is one that could not be declined, but it is for the constituency itself to settle that matter, and if I were to allow my name to be brought forward, as it would be by the printing of your letter, I should be assuming a position to which I have no title whatever. To the expression of your views on the Oxford election I can have no objection, so long as I am not implicated in the matter. You will see, from what I have said, that I cannot answer for the Conservative party in relation to Church politics, as I am utterly without authority, nor even if I were actually a candidate for Oxford could I expect the heads of the party to give me pledges with a view to my election. It is true that few on either side of the House make Church questions their study in their religious aspect, but I am firmly convinced that the necessary alliance of the Liberals with the extreme section must always prevent them from affording the Church in any sense a real support. The principles of the Conservatives must in themselves lead to an opposite result.’

' HOUSE OF COMMONS LIBRARY,

' May 25th, 1865.

' MY DEAR MOWBRAY

' There seems to be some misapprehension as to my position in regard to the Oxford University election. It has been, and is, an embarrassing one from the peculiar circumstances of the case. I have never been a candidate for the University, and am not so now. I have always felt that a constituency such as that should select its member without intervention on his part, and whoever may be chosen must be at their disposal. My name has been used, by the Committee of which you are Chairman, without interference on my part, and I accept the consequences whatever they may be. It would be unjust and ungenerous to those who have made such disinterested exertions on my behalf were I to withdraw my name, but so far as positive action on my own part is concerned it must be directed to my re-election at Leominster. If the University seat should eventually be offered to me I could not of course hesitate one moment as to its acceptance. No other constituency can confer so great an honour and I at least should never undervalue the distinction.

' Believe me,

' Yours very truly,

' GATHORNE HARDY.'

G. H. to Mowbray. Undated.

' Though, as you know, I am not in any way putting myself forward as a candidate, still I can have no objection to answer your questions. I never have given pledges, nor shall I change my course in that respect, but votes and

speeches on certain points, such as Church rates, Burials Bill, Tests, Conscience Clause, &c., have sufficiently indicated my opinions on those subjects, and the principles upon which I act. Independence and freedom of action seem to me the right of the Colonial Churches which are not established, and they should only be limited with regard to the Church of England and Ireland so far as is absolutely necessary in consequence of her union with the State. That union must, to some extent, affect her liberty, but there is a large compensation in the continued recognition of a National religion, and its inestimable results. The mode of dealing with Convocation is not easy to lay down, as its powers must depend much upon its constitution, upon which there is a great variety of opinion. I am not satisfied with the position which our Prelates occupy in the Courts of Appeal on points of doctrine, for it is neither fair to themselves nor to the Church which they are supposed to represent. At the same time I have not yet seen a satisfactory scheme for an improved tribunal, but the object deserves consideration. One word on the increase of the Episcopate. I rather think I have put my opinion on record in signing the Memorial in favour of it.'

D. April 2.—'Was at the House on Monday to hear the eulogy of Cobden, who died on Sunday. It was, on the whole, well and simply done, especially by Disraeli.'

S.—'Cobden's death occurred this spring, to me personally friendly, though I did not know much of him. His public character has been well discussed. He was too much one-sided, too little patriotic, too much cosmopolitan. Infinitely superior, however, to ——. Some generosity, some appreciation of opponents, whom the latter seems to think all fools, liars, and knaves!'

D. April 27.—‘Yesterday’s papers were full of sensation. In the morning Constance Kent’s confession of the Roade murder, in the afternoon the assassination of Lincoln, and the attempt on Seward and his sons, which will probably prove fatal to him and one of his sons. The Vice-President sworn in as President. Adams, it is said, is to leave England to fill Seward’s place. What rowdy may not Johnson send here unless the army takes the authority? We have not, however, judged American politics too well hitherto, and must wait. This is horrible work, however, and may lead to a horrible retaliation.’

D. May 29.—‘Yesterday afternoon went to Lord Derby’s to hear his views on the Roman Catholic Oaths Bill. The Oath is nothing in itself, but the object of repeal is to free the hands of those who are bound by it from attacks on the Church.’

D. June 13.—‘I was in time to add one to the minority on the Oaths Bill, which will now go to the Lords. It is but for policy that one can vote against it, waiting until the Protestant mind is more prepared, for, as a defence to the Church, Oaths are nil.’

D. June 15.—‘Yesterday the Oxford Test Bill came on for discussion. Gladstone opposed this year, justifying himself by Goschen’s speech, though the Bill was identically the same as last. I spoke after Foster, and have received much laudation. When I rose I thought only of a short dry speech, but warmed to the work. We were beaten, as I fear, through want of a more vigorous whip. Cecil was called out of the House on his brother Lord Cranborne’s sudden death. A great change in his position and future, which affects our party much.’

D. July 4 (on Lord Westbury’s censure).—‘Except Bouverie, no one held the audience. The Attorney-General

was extravagant. Denman defended everything without exception. On Hunt adopting Bouverie's amendment, Palmerston in a feeble way tried for an adjournment, and no doubt had a better division than he could have secured on the main question, but we prevailed by 14, so that the Parliament which censured Lord Derby's Government by 13 ends by condemning one of the chief officials of Lord Palmerston by 14! He will resign, I suppose, this morning, as he would have done had we adjourned. Mowbray gives a good report of Oxford—1845 my number. If they can get the voters up it seems a certainty. In the meantime I must not neglect Leominster. There is evidently more serious opposition than I thought.'

On July 6 he went to Leominster, and the next day was in the thick of the canvass.

D. July 8.—'It is wonderful how earnestly they work Oxford against me in every shape and way. If it is effective the signs do not come to light. My friends do not wish me to speak yet, and therefore I cannot discuss the topic except with electors separately. We ought to win so easily on the promises that I hardly know why they fight so hard.'

D. Sunday, July 9.—'To-day I went to church with Sale. Walsh and Hindmarch were there. The sermon was a strange one—entirely political and violently anti-democratic, anti-Dissent! Certainly by no means what a sermon should have been at such a time—most indiscreet—however, we are not responsible.'

D. July 11.—'The nomination over. I had a wonderfully good hearing and carried the show of hands with Walsh.'

D. July 14.—'I was up very early on Wednesday, and at the Town Hall. We led from the first, and by ten o'clock it was clear that Hindmarch had not the ghost

of a chance. The afternoon was tedious, as the poll was practically over. At four it stood Walsh 214, Hardy 208, Hindmarch 137. They ought to have let me be at the head, as my people brought the real strength, and we owed few to Walsh; but Hindmarch's friends gave him more splits. The return thanks was a short noisy affair. We had an ovation, being dragged through the town, and my only fear is that some of our zealous supporters suffered, for three were run over. It was said that they were not hurt, but I doubt. I found great excitement at the Carlton, and I fear shall hear of losses to-day. Fitzgerald and Whitmore each lose by one. My impression is that the position of parties will not be changed much, but a great change of men.'

All this time the Oxford election was going on. On his way through London he visited the Committee room.

S.—'I did not even know where it was, and when we got there knew only one man in the room, and was not known by sight to any other. The Chairman talked to me in ignorance, and it was not till I had gone some time that they heard who their interlocutor had been.'

The story of the Oxford election is best told in the letters of his indefatigable supporter and successor in the seat, Mowbray, afterwards Sir John.

From Mowbray, July 13, '65, 1 o'clock.

'I came down last night, and we had a meeting of Committee, & made some communications with G.'s Committee in order to avoid technical objections to voting papers, which are endless.

'The nomination was a most slovenly proceeding. The Dean of Christ Church nominated G. and the Warden of All Souls Heathcote. Then there was a *pause*, your pro-

poser, Wynter, was not there, and Michell said "ego nomino G. H. e Coll. Oriel." The voting goes on in 3 places, Theatre, Convocation House, and Schools. The Dean of Christ Church led the way, polling Earl Cowper and Bishop of Durham. One or two votes have been rejected for irregularity, but on the whole papers pass much better than I expected. One of our men said Glad—, stopped short and said Heathcote and Hardy. They have recorded his vote for all three, I am told. Robert Phillimore is here, active for G. The voting goes on very languidly, I shall not be able to let you know much, the poll closes to-day at 5. I am very sorry for Fitzgerald. Our promises are 1940. We put G. at 1800. They don't claim more than 1750. I cannot give you the least idea as to the result, but shall keep a reserve of voters back advisedly.'

The Don who said Glad— and stopped short was not good at his aspirates and said 'Eathcote and 'Ardy. The witty Professor Smith claimed the vote for Gladstone. 'Why,' said Archdeacon Clarke, 'he never finished "Gladstone."' 'But,' answered the Professor, 'he did not even begin "Hardy."'

'*July 13.* I have little to add to what I said to-day. We leave off ten ahead, 385 to Gladstone's 375. This of course reveals nothing. At 3 o'clock we were 50 ahead, but then they began to pour in voting papers. The Dean of Ch. Ch. in particular has polled a large number against us. On the other hand Rawlinson, their most active secretary, who is supposed to hold 100 votes, has not polled one. The Provost of Oriel only came up on Monday, I begin to think it will last out the five days, having originally expected that it would be over on Saturday. The errors in the voting papers are less serious practically than I feared. Your member, the deaf Sir Brooke, has sent one which is invalid.

If you write to me you may bear in mind that I hope to spend Sunday at home, and on Monday to be at our nomination, where I am to propose Charles Russell. On Thursday I go off to North Durham. The Bishop of Oxford voted in person; we reminded him that his vote was liable to be struck off on a scrutiny. It was rather amusing that the Vice Chancellor turned him back at first for not coming up in gown &c. and he retired and had to reappear in proper costume. . . .

'*July 14.* 36 ahead, no particular incident of the day.

'*July 15.* Poll up to one o'clock (23 ahead).

'All begin to be confident of winning, but I do not wish to be too confident, or to mislead you. I do not think they are holding back' (here follow particulars).

'I was up till one, and at it again at seven this morning, but I shall be quite satisfied if, as I now venture to anticipate, I see you decorated with the Blue ribbon. They begin to be ashamed of polling their peers, and now want to compromise, and let us poll three against theirs. We hold Lord Redesdale, but at present I don't mean to poll one.

'Close of poll that Saturday night. Majority 74.

'*July 16.* As a review of yesterday's proceedings I have every reason to be satisfied . . . I don't think their reserves can be great, and I am told they cannot move the neutrals. I fancy to-morrow must decide it.

| | | |
|-------------------|-----------------|------------|
| ' <i>July 17.</i> | Hardy . . . | 1835 |
| | Gladstone . . . | 1611 |
| | Majority . . . | <u>224</u> |

'Of course the thing is now over and it only remains to offer my cordial congratulations to you and Mrs. Hardy on the triumphant issue of the contest. Nominally the poll is to last until 8 to-morrow, but I hardly think they will go on so long, at any rate there cannot be the shade

of a shadow of a doubt. I always felt it must be so on Saturday.'

D. July 19.—'So I am M.P. for the University of Oxford, a distinction which in former days I never dreamt of. I shall be much abused I dare say, but such honour is sure to bring attack. Official close:

| | | | |
|-----------|---|---|-------|
| Heathcote | . | . | 3,236 |
| Hardy | . | . | 1,904 |
| Gladstone | . | . | 1,724 |

Majority 180. When one remembers that Mowbray put my promises at 1,914, (1,940, see Mowbray, July 13), and Gladstone at 1,750, the calculation is wonderfully supported by the result.'

S.—'This was the crowning triumph of my life, unsolicited and unexpected, but I always feel that Gladstone misrepresented the constituency, and proved it by declaring himself unmuzzled when defeated—not a very honest outbreak!'

Sir William Heathcote to Hardy, July 23.

'You will not expect me to say that I have rejoiced in a contest against an old and dear personal friend, being also one for whom (before I was his colleague) I used to work in his former contests as Chairman of his London Committee; nor that I quite like the blow to the traditional character in respect of security for life, of the Oxford University seats.

'But granting all this, and accepting the result, I can truly say that there is not a man in the House whom I can welcome as a colleague with more satisfaction than you, and that I look forward with great comfort to being in thoroughly confidential relations with you.'

(Certain points as to small fees.)

‘You must not issue any address of thanks nor take any other notice of the constituency than the following.

‘Next term I shall go to the Warden of All Souls, and you will, I presume, receive a similar invitation from the Provost of Oriel, and each of us, accompanied by the heads of our respective Colleges, must wait upon the head of every College and leave our cards on all the Common room tables.

‘Voilà tout !

‘Do you think you and Mrs. Hardy will be able to visit us at Hursley this Autumn ?’

The rest of the letter refers to an erroneous paper of Mr. Keble’s published in the *Guardian*, which led to the gentlemanly apology which follows.

‘July 26. HURSLEY VICARAGE.

‘The kindness of your note to Sir William Heathcote emboldens me to address you thus. I wish to apologise to you for the incautious use of your name in the paper to which that note alludes. I ought to have reflected that mere absence on a discussion or division is far indeed from being a clear token of want of interest in the question at issue. Since my conversation with Sir William I have perceived, what I had not observed or forgotten, that the paper had been published in the *Guardian* ; I will with your permission, as common justice requires, endeavour to have the readers of that paper put in possession of the real facts of the case. I am only sorry that I shall be too late for this week’s number. I thank you most sincerely for pointing out the error, and beg you to believe me

‘Dear Sir

‘with sincere respect

‘Your obedient Servant

‘J. KEBLE.’

N 2

My father met Keble at Hursley, where he paid a 'quiet visit which he much enjoyed,' in the beginning of the following October. He notes 'the gentle courtesy of Keble, who is growing old and perhaps may not long be spared to the Church.' The prophecy proved true, for on Easter Sunday of the next year comes the entry:

D. April 1, 1866.—'Keble's death announced this morning, so that the dread of his friends lest he should be left desolate by his wife's death has not been realised. There will be a deep feeling throughout the Church, for his calm and holy life and writings, have made a profound impression. Heathcote will feel his loss.'

He took an active part in the successful movement to found a college at Oxford in his memory, and was a member of the governing body, until extreme old age made him resign. The 'Christian Year' was one of his favourite books, and he knew it almost by heart. On August 30 the Bishop of Oxford was a visitor at Hemsted.

D.—'He was pleasant as usual. Of course said that, next to Gladstone, no one had such a claim on Oxford as myself, etc., etc., but!'

My father somewhat discounted his civil expressions as merely complimentary. They were, however, always great personal friends, and, on the vacancy of the See of York in 1862, he was as anxious as Mr. Gladstone himself that Wilberforce should succeed to the Archbishopric. He was a guest at Hemsted on the occasion of the reopening of the newly restored Church.

D. October 11, 1862.—'He has been a very agreeable guest, but I think he looks overworn and does too much. It is clear that he would much like to succeed Longley in York, but has no expectation from Palmerston. I see, however, no name among the Bishops that should compete with him.'

The prominent part he had taken in the University contest was the occasion of an epigram by Mansel which is worth recording. He had referred to Archdeacon Clarke's chairmanship of my father's Committee in the words of Samson, 'They plough with my heifer.'

'But when Samuel himself leaves his friends in the lurch,
To vote with the foes of the State and the Church,
One sees with surprise, and the spectacle shocks one,
That dissenters can plough with Episcopal Oxon.'

Many congratulations also came in, from Ward Hunt among others, who writes on July 29:

'I am not so desponding as some of our friends about the complection of the new Parliament. It is not Derbyite, but it is not more Radical, to my thinking, than the last. If Palmerston retires I doubt if Gladstone will lead so large a majority as the Liberal papers profess that he will have at his call. I am quite satisfied to sit on the Opposition side so long as we can prevent mischief being done, which I think we shall still be strong enough to effect.'

And from Lygon (afterwards Earl Beauchamp), who refers to the squibs on the occasion:

'The only squib worth having, and indeed the only one which exists in an existent shape, I send you. It is by Dodgson, a tutor of Christ Church [Lewis Carroll, the author of "Alice in Wonderland"]. The problem p. 18 is very ingenious. The evaluation of π is more abstruse and a good deal of it is beyond me. H. G. L. is of course the Dean. E. B. P. Pusey, A. P. S. Stanley, H. P. L. Liddon.

"The Dynamics of a π " is the name of this little pamphlet.'

So ended the General Election, and, in October, the removal of a great figure ended the Palmerston truce, and opened a new era of political activity.

D. October 19.—‘The *Times* gives a very unfavourable bulletin of Lord Palmerston’s health. He has been “seriously ill” since Sunday, and was worse last night by latest accounts. What are to be the results if he should be removed? I am not easy about them, and fear a more Radical Government.’

D. October 21.—‘Lord Palmerston died on Wednesday. At present Lord Russell is pointed at as his successor, and probably will be so.’

D. December 31.—‘We see the end of ’65 with thankful hearts, it has been a happy year to us on the whole, and of good fortune to me in public life at least. What will 1866 bring for public strife? I only hope I may be equal to what emergencies may require. I sadly want method and system.’

CHAPTER X

CABINET OFFICE (1866—1867)

DURING Lord Palmerston's lifetime the question of Reform, to which that popular statesman was personally hostile, had been allowed to slumber. The Parliament of 1865 was elected under his banner, and contained many of his supporters who shared his sentiments on the subject. His death ushered in a new era. It became imperative that Lord Russell and Mr. Gladstone should take up the question. The measure introduced by them postponed redistribution altogether, and only lowered the franchise in boroughs from £10 to £7 rental for householders, and £10 for lodgers. The county occupation franchise was to be reduced to £14, and there was a Savings Bank franchise. My father's view upon its introduction on March 13, that it could not be carried, as there was 'no enthusiasm for it and sound reason against,' turned out to be correct. Its defeat on June 18 on Lord Dunkellin's amendment led to the fall of the Russell administration and the formation of the Derby Cabinet, in which Gathorne Hardy held Cabinet office for the first time. The contemporary entries from the diary best tell the tale of the fight and its results and the history of the formation of the last Derby administration.

D. Feb. 1, 1866.—'At the House, a somewhat tedious ceremony of Speaker's election—many platitudes and much pompous eulogy. Gladstone crossed and shook hands with me, which was courteous and gentlemanlike. No news of

importance stirring. The Reform Bill to be after Easter it is said, and many difficulties there—arising from Liberal threats if it be not more than a Franchise Bill. Who knows anything about it?’

It was not so formidable a task to pass a Coercion Act for Ireland in 1866 as it is now.

D. February 17.—‘We meet to-day to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland—not before it is time, I fancy. I fear there is good ground for it.’

D. February 18.—‘The debate was interesting. Sir G. Grey was gentlemanly and clear. Disraeli very ill represented his party in the first part of his speech. Bright treated us to one of his pieces of declamation prepared for the first night of the Session. Roebuck retorted keenly, vigorously, and effectively. Mill still further went down in the estimation of the House as a debater. Gladstone would have been excellent, but did not know when to stop. He perorates and begins again. It was a grand thing to see a great Assembly, when need was, act with the decision and vigour of an executive. After the useless division of 366 to 6 the Bill went through in two or three minutes, went to the Lords, and I believe received the Royal Assent at 11 last night.’

The Reform Bill was soon afterwards introduced.

D. March 13.—‘Gladstone’s speech last night was one of the heaviest and dreariest I ever heard him deliver. There was a weight upon him. Whether dissentient colleagues, or friends below the gangway, I know not, but his chariot wheels drove heavily. After him I thought all was going to end, but a drawling debate went on until Laing rose about 9, and made a strong and well-reasoned

attack. Horsman wound up with too long a speech, but unmeasured in its language and deprecation of the sham Reform agitation. The Bill is Gladstonian—something new— (£14 in counties, house and land, £50 Savings Bank for two years, where depositor resides in county or borough; Leaseholders and Copyholders in boroughs to vote in counties!! £10 lodgings or compound houses—£7 gross estimated rental houses. I cannot think such a measure can be carried—no enthusiasm for it, and sound reason against.'

D. March 14.—'Lowe made a remarkable speech to a vast audience on the Reform Bill. Bright was effective in personalities. Cranborne not so good as usual. However, the Bill was read a first time. For the future what?'

D. March 17.—'St. Patrick's Day, which I hope will not bring any trouble in Ireland, nor do I think it will, for Fenianism seems pretty well checked there, and Stephens, it is said, has gone away. We had a party meeting at Lord Salisbury's yesterday, when Disraeli spoke for Lord Derby, who had the gout. Uncompromising resistance to the Reform Bill was the order, and was very enthusiastically received.'

The first fight took place on Lord Grosvenor's motion not to proceed with the franchise until the House was in possession of the Government's intentions as to seats. The Diary records the course of the debate from day to day.

D. April 27.—'To-night the great question is to be decided, but no one can feel any certainty. The Government still speak of a small majority, but if reliance can be placed on our men and the statements of the Adullamites, it can be but a bare majority, even if the House be polled

out. Some will stay away, I should imagine, and so baffle the calculators.'

D.—'Cranborne opened the debate, rather heavy. . . . Disraeli too long and not lively. Gladstone very fine in parts, but in my opinion absolutely democratic in argument. In a House of 636 members they had a majority of 5. Absent without pairs, 8. Pairs, 2. Seats vacant, 12. What will the Government do? I shall not be surprised if they go into Committee, and force a decision upon the Bill itself. Our chances have never excited me.'

D. May 8.—'Yesterday I stayed in the House to hear Gladstone on the redistribution of seats. It was a mere statement, without attempt at a speech. A pleasant prospect of adjourning, and meeting in September was held out to us. The scheme most smashing, though without absolute disfranchisement. A group of boroughs is taken and one or two members given for the whole which now has four to six, *e.g.* Leominster and Ludlow—one for four. I cannot think it will pass. However, we meet at Lord Derby's to-day to discuss the matter, and I hope may come to a wise conclusion.'

D. May 9.—We had a very long meeting at Lord Derby's. Walpole, Henley, and Lord Stanley were for deferring action, if taken at all, until after the second reading of the Seats Bill. The rest for taking it at once, on the ground that the party expected it. I said that was the main question, and suggested that many had expressed contrary opinions to me, but Taylor spoke of nineteen-twentieths being the other way. Well! when I got to the House, after being at Heathcote's for a long sit on Keble's memorial, I found a change had happened. The party was adverse, and so all undone, and I fear we may not henceforth be very united. Lord Derby spoke strongly about his

views of office. He would never hold a subordinate place. He would never be a Minister on sufferance again. Disraeli did not seem to have the same fear.'

Skirmishing went on until June 18, when the Government were defeated by a majority of nine on Lord Dunkellin's amendment to substitute rating for rental.

D. June 18.—'The European war has begun, Prussia having entered both Hanover and Saxony. My sympathy is with Austria. I suppose the Italians will soon declare war, as there can be little doubt of their understanding with Prussia. Great hopes are held out to us of help to defeat the Government to-night. I cannot help doubting.'

D. June 19.—'My doubts were ended by a decisive majority, 315 to 304. Gladstone is to announce the Government course this evening at 6. He threatened in the old way, and said he would not accept the decision, but what can be done? I was at the House from 4 to 1.30. The excitement at the end was very great, and the cheering tremendous.'

D. June 20.—'The Carlton was in its usual state of animation on a "crisis," and gossip abounded. However, Lord Russell in one House, and Gladstone in the other, merely asked the House to adjourn, as they were in communication with the Queen at Balmoral. As Gladstone spoke of their functions being in abeyance, of course resignation is the course proposed, and what next? Cairns, with whom I walked home, thinks nothing but a new head to a moderate party can answer, and speaks of Lord Lansdowne; Lord Derby to support out of office, and Disraeli to go to the Upper House, leaving Stanley to lead the Lower. There is much to be said for this, and I do not see my way to a pure Derby Government, however one might desire it.

The fatal thing will be if all combinations fail, and the old lot come back triumphant as dictators.'

D. June 21.—'Yesterday much gossip and falsehood current. The club was full and excited. The war and the crisis, especially the latter, the only topics. I dined at the T. Gladstones', and went on to Lady Cranborne's party; still the same talk. I had a walk in the afternoon with Lord Carnarvon, who has a strange theory of putting the Duke of Cambridge at the head of a mixed Government. Impossible, in all senses! He did not think the Marquis of Lansdowne a bad card except on the ground of health. The Government are not out yet, but I think they will be.'

D. June 27.—'The Ministry are out. Gladstone was temperate, though evidently there was passion within, which once nearly broke out as he alluded to Stanley's motion without notice. In the Lords I hear that Lord Russell was querulous and nasty, attacking Lord Derby, who went further in reply than was needful. The difficulties now begin, but there seems an impression that Lord Derby will try his hand.'

D. June 28.—'I had my first sitting to Grant yesterday morning [for his portrait]. Dined at Grillion's, Gladstone in the chair showing great knowledge and talking freely. I am summoned to Lord Derby at 11 to-day, so that I shall soon know what is going on, and have to decide my own course. I hope he has tried something before the old Derby team.'

D. June 29.—'Twenty-two met at Lord Derby's at 11 yesterday, and all expressed strongly the opinion that it was his duty to attempt the formation of a Government, first on a broad basis if possible. The Queen's letter, a few words of which he read, was very cordial, speaking of him

as the only person on whom she could rely to form a Government which would have her confidence and that of the country. Lord Bath spoke frankly against any attempt to form a pure Derby Government, and recommended Lord Stanley ; but all the rest were in favour of a Derby Government pure, sooner than that the late one should return. He was to see the Queen at 4 yesterday, and is now, no doubt, busy negotiating with old Whigs. . . . No news of political affairs at all. The papers put me in the Cabinet and high office, but nothing is done for anyone yet.'

D. July 3.—' I learnt nothing further on Sunday, but yesterday when riding Taylor told me in confidence that Lord Derby had meant me to be at the Home Office, but Henley had asked for it, and therefore there was nothing left but Judge Advocate. I answered at once that I would not take it, and am sure such a course would have been right, for Mowbray's sake if for no other reason. But the position I have held would have made it impossible to see Northcote *e.g.* put in high office, and myself a subordinate under him. After lunch I was at the club, and saw General Peel, who informed me that I was to be President of the Poor Law Board, as he had heard from Lord Derby about 12 o'clock. The day passed, and I have heard nothing, but, astonishing to say, Walpole at the Literary Society, where I dined, told me that no regular communication had yet reached him of any kind, but that the new Lord Advocate (Paton) called on him with a note from Taylor saying that he wished for a conference with him as Home Secretary. Peel told me that he was so, as Henley had declined office. Walpole was very bitter at the mode of dealing with him, and I confess I am not altogether pleased at my treatment . . . (10 o'clock). Soon after 11 came a note from Lord Derby offering me a seat in the Cabinet and

the Poor Law Board, which I at once accepted. I must work to justify the choice, and will do so.'

Earl of Derby to Gathorne Hardy, July 2, 1866, 12 P.M.

'DEAR HARDY

'I have much pleasure in being able to offer you a seat in the Cabinet which I have just been authorised to form, in conjunction with the Office of President of the Poor Law Board, an office which, as far as we can judge at present, is likely to occupy a more than ordinary share of attention in the coming year. I hope that this appointment may be agreeable to you, and that you will be prepared to be sworn in as a Privy Councillor at a Council to be held at Windsor on Friday next of which you will receive due notice.'

Hardy to Lord Derby, July 2, 1866.

'DEAR LORD DERBY

'I thank you sincerely for the confidence which the offer of so responsible an Office, and a seat in your Cabinet implies.

'I accept the post with the hope that I may in some degree justify your choice, and at least will make every effort to do so.'

D. July 6.—'The news of the day was the cession of Venetia to France. An armistice asked for by Austria, which must be thoroughly beaten. Breech-loaders will supersede all other arms. General Peel is keen on the subject (12.30 P.M.). Have had my sitting to Grant, and seen Lord Enfield, who has been most courteous and pleasant in offering me all information in his power relative to the Poor

Law Board. Villiers has also written in kind terms, offering any aid he can. These things are pleasant.'

D.—'5 P.M. We went down merrily by special train, and met the outgoers on the staircase as we went up. Five of us were sworn Privy Councillors in a very small room, in rather a hugger-mugger way on our knees before H.M., who gave us her hand to kiss as we completed the oath. We then rose and shook hands with the P.C.s in the room who were few, as the Queen limits the number, three in this case. The Prince of Wales however (looking no worse for his roll in Rotten Row) and the Duke of Edinburgh were in the room. We then retired and the whole of us, 17 in number, were called in one by one to kneel and kiss hands on our appointment. This hardly took a moment. Then lunch, which I did not want, and so to the train again. A thunderstorm, with hail which whitened the slopes, took place while we were there. The place is Royal and the rooms stately, but I cannot say as much for the ceremony.'

D. July 8.—'Yesterday I went to the P.L.B. and had a long talk with Villiers. As my commission was not out I could not act, but shall go on Monday for work if I cannot sign. Thence I passed to my first Cabinet, and a serious business it is to find oneself all at once in confidential knowledge of what is going on abroad. The course of the French Emperor does not seem as if it would be what people expect; but the complications become strange, and the Continental powers have great difficulties before them. We have some also, and must not expect to have all the influence we might desire while we strictly and rightly abstain from interference with what does not concern us.'

Gathorne Hardy's tenure of the Poor Law Board lasted

only from July 1866 to May 17, 1867, when he received the seals of the Home Office, but during that short time he was able to effect a substantial reform. The question of the Reform Bill of 1867, and the part he took in it, will demand a chapter to itself. The entries in the Diary, so far as they relate principally to his department, and incidentally to other political matters, follow in chronological order.

D. July 18.—‘At the evening sitting my first answers as President were given, and favourably received by the House. I hope I may be able to act up to them. As the Ballot was coming on, dined with Cairns at the Carlton, and had a long and interesting talk with him. I fear that he will not be long with us in the House. He wishes for, and needs, rest. I hardly think that he will take the Chancellorship, though he told me in the strictest confidence that Lord Chelmsford is bound to resign for him if he should wish it; bound in writing. His feeling against a Peerage is strong, and he would be content with a less high judicial office. He ought not, however, to be lost to politics.’

D. July 19.—‘At the office early, and had interviews with Lady Herbert (accompanied by Strzelecki) on Roman Catholic Education. She was very bright and pleasant, but I could not make much promise to her. I have to see a more formidable person in Archbishop Manning to-day.’

D. August 17.—‘Dined with Adderley, who is up in haste, Lord Monck (Governor-General of Canada) having sent for troops in a hurry. A Cabinet to-morrow, he tells us. The elections in the United States cause this, each party bidding for Fenians, prosecutions dropped, arms restored, place of meeting given. What a Government! Trials come upon us in all shapes. May we prove equal!’

D. August 30.—‘Yesterday a pouring day. I was early at Whitehall, and went on at a quarter to one to the

City of London Union where Mr. Lambert was holding an enquiry. I was about 2½ hours going over it, a great deal appeared satisfactory, but I see what difficulties there must be in supervision, and ascertaining exact truth. The wards were, in my judgment, well ventilated, and the imbeciles, especially, carefully tended. Almost all the sick are aged also, and of really able-bodied there are hardly any.'

On October 16 Cairns writes announcing his acceptance of the vacant seat in the Appeal Court. He laments the 'painful wrench of leaving political life.'

D. October 19.—'I heard from Cairns that he becomes Lord Justice in Knight Bruce's place—an awful loss to us in the House of Commons, and in good advice out of it. We have our work before us and shall need armour and weapons for the fight.'

D. November 3.—'I dined on Thursday at the Carlton with Cairns, who is pleased and grieved at his change. I do not think that he would, however, refuse the Chancellorship hereafter. New vacancies are to come. Erle and Kindersley resign, so I suppose Bovill and Malins will mount. Fitzgerald goes as Governor to Bombay.'

The year 1867 began very wintrily—a prelude to a stormy Session. On Wednesday, January 2, he had great difficulty in reaching Osborne, where he was summoned to see the Queen.

S.—'My journey in the beginning of January to Osborne was one to be remembered. It was no easy task to reach the station. My first essay in a hired carriage failed through the horses coming down in the deep drifts, and I had to promise responsibility before they would send me another. Had the train started punctually I should have missed it.'

Cabs were unseen, and no vehicle except under compulsion out.'

D. January 4, 1867.—'The boat was waiting, and we landed at Cowes. We passed the winning Yankee yacht (the *America*) which seems a frail bark for a winter voyage, but is very bonny. At dinner the conversation was mostly general, the Queen referred to the old days of Buckingham Palace and the boy Jones whose feats from her account would not be needful to obtain access at Coburg, where a petitioner from the streets knocked at her dressing-room door. Yesterday was bright but very cold. I did not go out, as the Queen said she would see me on her return and I could not be certain when that would be. Eventually, after lunch and just before starting, I saw her in her dressing-room and she was very gracious, but chiefly spoke on politics. Reform, the East, Belgium, and Holland.'

On February 8 he introduced his Poor Law Amendment Bill, and carried it through all its stages, almost without alteration, in about a month.

D. February 9.—'My Bill came on, or rather I asked leave to bring it in, last night; I got a most attentive hearing, and, so far as talking went, universal approval. Disraeli and others seemed greatly pleased, and he told me that he had written to the Queen that the speech and measure had made a most favourable impression.'

D. February 24.—'On Thursday night my Poor Law Bill came for second reading after the Habeas Corpus Suspension Bill. It was duly puffed by every speaker, and even Villiers had but small criticisms to make.'

D. March 10.—'On Friday evening, after long waiting. I at last got my Bill on, and the Committee carried me

through 30 clauses with steady and earnest support. Indeed, I never saw anything like it.'

D. March 12.—'Last night I got through Committee with my Bill almost unchanged, and ended amid loud cheers. Resistance to it was hopeless.'

The main principle of the measure which (S.) 'stood the test of time' was that it threw improvements on a common fund.

S.—'In its preparation I owed much to Mr., now Sir John, Lambert; who worked heartily with me. Reilly drew it admirably, and I remember Lord Eversley saying that it read like a novel. It has worked well and justified the House in the rapid passage which they ensured for it. It ran through its stages, and I believe has been little altered by any subsequent law (1884). My dear brother Charles was present at its introduction, and greatly pleased at my success, as he always was at anything which did me credit or gratified me. Alas! I was soon to lose him.'

The death of this brother, so near him in age, and so close to him in affection, was a terrible blow. Companions at school, they had married sisters, and had become neighbours in Kent. The love they bore each other was more than mere family affection, and the elder brother, with his shy and retiring disposition, spared neither trouble nor expense to help the ambition of the younger. He died of a low fever on March 16, 1867. His brother had been summoned to his bedside at Chilham Castle, his place in Kent, and found him unconscious, but an hour and a half later there came a rally.

D. March 17.—'On my addressing him he turned the wistfullest gaze on me, and said his eyes were dim and he could not see me. I named my name, and he was bright

with joy, pressed my hands and fondled them. He spoke most calmly and firmly, said God had crowned him with blessings. How he rejoiced to see us again! To me it is the greatest source of comfort to know how he loved me, and that tender earnest look must ever be with me. He was in perfect peace, and one caught words of prayer or praise among what was generally unintelligible . . . never beat a purer juster heart, never was a more susceptible conscience—never a higher sense of duty. He was undemonstrative yet had the most tender and loving of hearts. To follow his example, and meet our end like him, may be our daily prayer. I went this morning to early Communion. There we may meet yet.'

S. 1884.—'He was to me more than a brother. A fast and unfailing friend. Honest, true, just, he flinched from no duty. No one felt more than he did in holding his own when he pained others, but if he saw a clear line he followed it unswervingly. His very shyness was against him, but he fought against it when to speak was necessary, and he did what he thought ought to be done with firmness and resolution, however much against the grain. Yet he was full of tender sympathy. When I think how early he had to act for himself—the trying situation at Low Moor, and his bold maintenance of principle on all occasions and in all conflicts—I am often amazed. Would that I had always had, and had now, the same unflinching adherence to the right! To me in his lifetime his counsel and love never failed.'

I have described the great sorrow of 1867. It only remains, before turning to the history of the Reform Bill, to note briefly the great joy of the same year. In the spring, my eldest brother, the present Lord Cranbrook, became engaged to Cicely, daughter of Joseph Ridgway, who had

been at school with my father at Shrewsbury and was now his neighbour in Kent. On June 12 the wedding took place at Fairlawn, his country place near Tonbridge.

D. June 12.—‘ Just come back from the wedding at Fairlawn which went off most satisfactorily, though under almost too burning a sky. Fairlawn looked its best, and the Bishop of Oxford made the evening pleasant. Cicy looked very well and was perfectly calm and self-possessed. All her friends love her, and we do so, and mean to do so.’

He lived to see nearly forty years of this union, and it is enough to say that the love he promised was given in no unstinted measure. His grandchildren and great-grandchildren were the joy of his later life, and the family tree could boast of many branches before the parent stem was taken away.

The last entry in the diary for 1867 may conclude this chapter :

D. Tuesday night, December 31.—‘ My dear dear Charles ! It seems so unreal that he should be gone. How I feel that I should “ not think it strange ” if I should grasp his hand now. That is the sorrow of the year ; Cicy is the joy. Her artless affection warms my heart to her. God grant that she and Stewart may be a happy couple ! A word for the rest. What loving hearts ! what a mother—what a wife ! The God of heaven bless her and my children in the New Year !’

CHAPTER XI

THE REFORM BILL OF 1867

MY father has very fully recorded his views upon the strange course of this measure. The contemporary entries in the Diary, and the correspondence preserved, show how large a responsibility fell upon the young Cabinet Minister, the efforts that were made to detach him on the one hand, and to retain him on the other, indicate the value that was placed upon his judgment and influence. If he had decided to follow the three dissentient Ministers in their resignation the Ministry would probably have fallen, and the measure would have been wrecked. History has done greater justice to Mr. Disraeli's motives and action than was shown by contemporary critics, and it is now admitted that there was much to be said for the idea contained in the speech in which he introduced the measure, 'that Parliamentary Reform, which had baffled the efforts of both parties, ought no longer to be a question to determine the fate of Cabinets. He proposed to lift it above the level of party discussion, and to call upon the whole House to unite in settling it.' My father was throughout his career a strong party man, prepared to make sacrifices in matters of detail in order to preserve united action, but it was not without searchings of heart that he remained in office, and became a party to the 'leap in the dark.' His motives never were impugned, and General Peel, as he gratefully records, in his resignation speech spoke of his continued presence in the Cabinet as a ground for reliance on the Government. The other seceders also remained on the most friendly terms with him. The

history of the measure is well known, but the contemporary record of one who took so prominent a part may throw some new light on the course of events. The Diary tells the story in detail, the Summary supplements it and gives his later-considered views of the difficult situation.

At the Cabinet held on February 16, difficulties and differences of opinion already began to show themselves. At a second meeting, three days later, the writer adopts a more hopeful tone, but although desperate efforts were made to avoid a rupture they proved unavailing.

D. February 20, 1867.—‘Yesterday a Cabinet at 1, and a very important one. All was smooth, the nodus had been untied by no mean hand. The Queen is anxious for our permanence at least until Reform is disposed of.’

D. February 26.—‘Such events! On Thursday night late Carnarvon came, in trouble at statistics made out by Cranborne, and told me that both he and Cranborne would resign if our measure went on. He carried me off to Cranborne, whom I found in a very disturbed state of mind, but clearly set in his resolution not to be a party to the Bill. I doubted his figures, and advised him seeing Lord D. or Disraeli. He said he would write. I thought all over, and wrote to Carnarvon of all things to stick to the Ship, for whose position we were all responsible. I said that our personal honour, in allowing our chiefs to state that we were prepared with a Bill, was at stake, and that we must present one in concert. I repeated this in effect at the Cabinet. Well, after that hurried meeting, we agreed once more on a new footing, and Lord Derby met his friends a few minutes after—much mortified, but I must say that both he and D. took the sudden and trying emergency well. I foresee future difficulties, for clearly Cranborne will not long act with Disraeli, that is at the bottom of it. The

latter, in clear terms, brought in our Bill, or rather stated its effect in moving the Committee for the Resolutions. They have done their work, and will go. Lowe and Bright attacked with equal bitterness on different grounds. Gladstone moderate still. I shall not be surprised if we carry the Bill in its main points.'

A letter from Lord Carnarvon, received at this crisis, betrays great perplexity of mind; he and Cranborne cannot go on unless Disraeli can clear up the doubt as to the calculations. He will do all he can to induce the latter to exercise moderation, but is almost hopeless of any good ending to 'the maze in which we are wandering.' He evidently desired to carry my father with him, if, as he anticipated, he was driven into resignation. But Gathorne Hardy acted upon the view that the Cabinet had so far committed themselves to their Chiefs that they were in honour bound to introduce a measure in concert. His Diary, and his later comments, show clearly the motives which actuated him, and the indelible impression every incident of that critical time made upon his memory. Most certainly he was not swayed by self-interest. He would have rejoiced to be released from the cares of a most laborious and even dangerous office, which he held during a large portion of the time when the House was occupied with the Bill, but his labours and danger only made him more determined to 'stick to the ship.' The spirit in which he continued to give his support to the Bill, and the motives which actuated him, sufficiently appear from his own contemporary comments.

D. February 27.—'A quiet Cabinet after the storm, and an agreement to abandon the Resolutions, which was done at 4.30. Gladstone had a Resolution ready to compel it. It is difficult to judge of the temper of the House, but 289 are said to have met at Gladstone's, and if they are at one, our

career must be a short one. Personally I cannot get up a care about it, for our position is not a pleasant one.'

D. March 2.—'The political situation is horrible, but can we retrace our steps?'

D. March 3.—'What will come of it all? At the Cabinet we did retrace our steps at a very heavy loss—Cranborne—Carnarvon—Peel, the last, a gallant fellow, would have stayed if the others had, nay, I think he would not have gone had but one of them done so. Lord Derby is to be pitied, but feels it a profound duty to the Queen to go on, and I for one will go with him.'

The summary of these events written in 1884 should here be compared. It gives my father's deliberate impressions when looking back upon what had then become matter of history.

S. 1884.—'We had promised a Reform Bill on which I had many misgivings, and we began with Resolutions which did not disintegrate the Government. A Bill however was needed, and it was obvious at once that Peel would be no willing party to it, though up to the last he would not have left us had others stayed.

'On Sunday February 24 things came to a climax. How it comes back to me!—Carnarvon called in the evening, and told me that he and Cranborne were dissatisfied with the figures, and would resign if the measure went on. He took me to Cranborne's house. Cranborne was much disturbed. I did not agree in his view of the figures, and asked if he had given any intimation to Disraeli, or Lord Derby, who was to see a meeting of his followers on Monday. I pointed out how unfair it was that he should not be informed of their feelings and intentions. Cranborne promised to write, but as a matter of fact the note, though I believe put into

the box of the door, did not reach Lord Derby till within a few minutes of the meeting of his Cabinet. Then we hurriedly agreed to a Bill (an agreement most improperly spoken of by Pakington) and from him it acquired the name of the "Ten Minutes Bill." They were anxious that I should join the dissentients, but I had a different view. We had pledged ourselves to present a Reform Bill, and had much discussed it. With much hesitation I had come to the conclusion that we had better, for the country's sake, produce one, and that it should be likely to have a fair chance, if not of finality, of long endurance. It is well known that our efforts to hold together came to naught, and on March 2 the disruption ensued, my generous friend Peel, Carnarvon, and Cranborne, who, then disliking Disraeli much, came to act with him with cordiality. These then left us, in difficulties enormously aggravated by their secession. Derby spoke very kindly to me of the needful change, saying that I was wanted where I was. Peel at the last lingered, but we knew that if two went his going was of comparatively little import. When explaining his course he spoke most kindly of me as a ground of reliance on the Government. That was a strange episode, but on looking back I feel that I was right in not yielding to Carnarvon's and Cranborne's urging that Sunday night, and that they were very unfair to their Chiefs. Derby was in bad health, and I fear that the mortification and annoyance had a permanent effect upon him. When I look back upon the spring of 1867 it is with no complete satisfaction. It would have been better that a Reform Bill should have been carried by others, but once embarked upon it, permanence, founded upon completeness, became requisite. Our attempts at checks failed, and General Peel was right in deriding them; the greater

sweeps away the less, and feeble barriers yield to a flood. I was much consulted in the course of the struggle, and did my best to maintain what seemed most important.'

D. March 5.—'No explanations were given in the House of Commons, though urged by Bernal Osborne, but to our amazement we heard that in the Lords both Lord Derby and Carnarvon entered fully into the matter. What confusion appears in all our plans and arrangements! It cannot last on such a footing. Disraeli had a long talk with me, going through the heads of our proposed Reform, and said he and I must do it, but there must be full and early explanation with the Cabinet and no putting off.'

D. March 7.—'I had more talk with Disraeli, whose fault is that he is always looking for what will suit others, rather than what is sound in itself. Stanley, however, helped my view, as Northcote did yesterday after the Cabinet. I am to go to Lord Derby to-day on the same subject.'

D. March 20.—'The introduction of the Reform Bill on Monday night does not seem to have been successful, or promising, and as far as I am concerned I am in no mood for sacrificing anything for place. Earle [his colleague at the Poor Law Board] sent me word last night that he has resigned. He has not done much at the office, but I have no complaint to make. I fancy his grievance is not Reform but some quarrel with Disraeli. Each is bitter against the other. I question if his successor will have a long reign.'

D. March 26.—'To the office, where Fleming communicated to me, by the desire of Lord Enfield, the views of his friends, one hundred in number. I was going to see Disraeli about them when I was sent for to Lord Derby's; and on going, what was my surprise when I was

asked about three o'clock to follow Gladstone, who was expected to open the debate! I had nothing prepared, and did not attempt more than to collect my thoughts and discuss his speech. Mine was well received, and Disraeli and my colleagues much gratified. Lord Derby has written me a very kind letter of thanks.'

The letter follows. My father's speeches lost nothing by want of preparation, when his mind was full of his subject. He was best as a debater, and in reply. Even when he had made notes he often departed from them altogether when on his legs.

'*Private.*

'ST. JAMES SQUARE,

'*March 25, 1867.*

'MY DEAR HARDY

'I cannot go to bed without a line to congratulate you on the signal success which I hear from various quarters that you have achieved to-night. You have, at short notice, *as I know*, put the question on its true basis, rallied our friends on a definite issue, and exposed Gladstone's pretensions and fallacies. My younger son dined with us to-day, and came back full of your speech: and all the subsequent communications I have received join in a chorus of approval of the manner in which you worked out the plan which we had agreed on this afternoon, and the good effect you had produced.

'Yours sincerely,

'DERBY.'

D. *March 29.*—'On Tuesday night the Reform debate ended in a brilliant speech from Disraeli, and the general opinion is that we shall get into Committee.'

D. April 8.—‘On Friday we had notice of Gladstone’s meeting, and the instruction, professedly not unfriendly, which is to be proposed to-night. It is crafty, and hardly intelligible, so that there is a difference in its interpretation. I rather expect that Elcho, or one of his set, will move an amendment which we must support, as so far as it goes it must be in our direction, viz. to leave out all the words which would tie us in Committee.’

D. April 9.—‘Such a fiasco! The House met, rumours rife that a large meeting of Liberals had thrown over Gladstone, and that his instruction so far as it was hostile was to be withdrawn. Locke asked Disraeli if he would accept the change. His answer was admirable. Gladstone lowering and gloomy, full of mortification no doubt. A desultory talk, and we were in Committee, but reported progress at once, and sit again on Thursday. What will come of it all? The disunion on the other side seems complete.’

Mr. Gladstone’s amendment was to remove the personal payment of rates as an essential qualification. His diary quoted in Lord Morley’s *Life* is as follows: April 12.—‘Spoke and voted in 289–310. A smash perhaps without example! A victory of 21 for Ministers.’

D. April 11.—‘On Thursday our troubles began again, for Gladstone’s amendments were so put down as to involve early and vital divisions. He has since altered them, and the question of personal rating will come first. Hibbert came to me on Tuesday evening begging that we would give up the exaction of *full* rate and promising a large support to personal payment and two years’ residence. He renewed his proposal yesterday, and Taylor and Noel have been very urgent. Much consultation has ensued and

more is coming, for I am summoned to a "*secret*" meeting of my colleagues at 1 to-day.'

D. April 13.—'. . . Then to the "*secret*" meeting which I was sorry should be secret. All but Lord Derby attended. I stated my views on the point for consideration, and they were adopted. The debate began on Gladstone's amendment and kept us late. Yesterday morning Walpole called early, and told me a Cabinet was summoned for 12 to reopen what had been settled the day before. I, and I believe he, made up our minds not to assent, but rather go out. We met, and our views prevailed, though there was much difference of opinion. Fortunate that it was so, for Bernal Osborne at the sitting of the House brought out a document purporting to be a minute of conversation between Taylor and Dillwyn, in which Disraeli and Lord Derby were vouched as favourable to Hibbert's view. Disraeli denied all knowledge of the negotiation, and said he believed Lord Derby was ignorant of it. Stanley evidently thought this untrue, and, after some words between us, he got up on the part of the Government, declared us unpledged, and demanded and challenged a division on the merits. This put the Government right at all events. Well, I was to have answered Bright, but he did not rise, and I went home to dine. After I got back Horsman rose, and I was tempted to follow him, and certainly never was so enthusiastically applauded as I was throughout, and the expressions of satisfaction from my friends afterwards were overwhelming. Bright followed rather heavily, Disraeli, Gladstone, who was not in his best style. The division about 2, when, to our surprise, we found ourselves in a majority of 21. As I went out men said much was owing to me. I doubt such effects of a

speech on such a question. Well, there we are, but how much further are we to get ?'

D. April 22.—'Cairns keeps up his interest in politics. I have had three letters from him on compounders, and I think he rather comes round to my view.'

The letters are preserved. The first congratulates him on his brilliant impromptu speech. He writes: 'It is quite the best view of the measure that has yet been put before the public.'

D. April 25.—'War threatens abroad. Disraeli in his letter to me uses very ominous language on the subject. I hope it may not be, after all, for it will be no easy matter to keep out of it.'

Mr. Disraeli's letter written from Windsor Castle on the 21st is certainly alarming; after asking for a good talk on Reform before the Cabinet, he concludes as follows: 'Foreign affairs are very queer. I sometimes fear the worst is at hand. It was very lucky, or let us say that it was very wise, that we took off no taxes this year, and established our credit in case we have to go into the market as borrowers.'

D. May 11.—'On Thursday came on the great division, about which the whips were doubtful, until the time arrived, but no one had foreseen so large a majority as 61 in spite of Gladstone's violent and vehement, almost ludicrous, advocacy of the wrongs of the compounder. Even Hibbert was in his heart with us, and I begin to think we really may get on.'

D. May 18.—'This morning brings me a long letter from Disraeli to justify his course in accepting the repeal of the Small Tenements Act. I cannot see how on principle we can object if the House choose to do it, and so I have written, as he expresses great anxiety for my approval.'

The correspondence referred to, which follows, deals with an incident that took place in the House during my father's absence at Osborne to receive the seals of the Home Office.

D. May 17.—‘ Just got back from Osborne with the Seals. H.M. looking very well. She comes to Windsor to-morrow, and to London on Monday when there is a function at the Hall of Science which I have to attend in Levee dress. On Tuesday to attend the christening of the young Prince Christian at Windsor. When is work to be done? ’

‘ GROSVENOR GATE,

‘ *May 18, '67.*

‘ MY DEAR HARDY

‘ I have had great difficulties about the Reform Bill since we parted, and have terribly missed your aid and counsel.

‘ On Thursday night, Dalglish gave notice of a motion for a Committee on Compound Householders wh if carried wd have “hung up” the Bill, and wh, as it was to have been supported by the independent Liberals and many of our own men, would certainly have been carried. I prevailed on him yesterday morning to give this intention up, but he informed me at the same time that he and all his friends, and many of ours, as we knew, must support Hodgkinson's amendment for the repeal of the Small Tenements Act. I sent off to you, but you had gone to Osborne. Lord Barrington, however, told me that you had mentioned to him that you were not unfavourable to the repeal in itself.

‘I sent for Lambert, who after long consultation with myself and Thring, said if required he could effect the repeal of the Rating Bill in five clauses, and was in favour of it; two months ago such a repeal was impossible but a very great change had occurred in the public mind on this matter. Two months ago Gladstone would have placed himself at the head of the Vestries and “civilisation”—now—we were secretly informed he intended to re-organise on the principle of repeal of local Acts. In this state of doubt and difficulty I went down to the House—and about 9 o’clock, being quite alone on our bench, & only 45 men on our side, some of whom were going to vote for Hodgkinson, the amendment was moved, and as I had been led somewhat to believe, Gladstone got up (his benches with about 100 men) & made his meditated coup, which you will read.

‘I tried to set up some debate, or rather I waited for it, for I could do no more, but it was impossible. His “appeal” to me prevented any one but Bass and Co speaking, and they were for Hodgkinson. I waited till the question was put when, having revolved everything in my mind, I felt that the critical moment had arrived when, without in the slightest degree receding from our principle and position of a rating and residential franchise, we might take a step which would destroy the present agitation and extinguish Gladstone & Co. I therefore accepted the spirit of H.’s amendment.

‘It was most painful, truly grievous and annoying, to act in such a matter without your personal and immediate countenance, and I can’t conceal from myself, tho’ I felt the pulse of many in the course of the morning, feeling that some crisis wh: required decision might arise—I say I cannot conceal from myself, that this course may excite

some discontentment—but if you stand by me all will go right.

‘I have no reason to doubt the adhesion of the Cabinet, with the exception of the Duke of Buckingham whom I have not seen; if the Cabinet is united to-day all will go right and no further opposition to the Ref: Bill will take place.

‘I had always, from our frequent conversation on the subject, inferred that in theory you were opposed to the rating Bills, but were of opinion, as I was myself, that it was unwise, not to say impossible for us to touch them—But if the Opposition originated the move that was a great difference—I inferred also from what Barrington impressed on me, that you were not insensible to the change of public opinion on this subject.

‘I have written all this off to you curr: cal. that you might fully understand all I feel at this moment. It is a critical one wh: requires alike courage and conciliation for all. I hope you may on the whole not disapprove of my course, but I feel confident, that if you do not entirely, you will for the sake of the party, and perhaps a little for mine, support a colleague who has endeavoured to do his best in great difficulties.

‘Yrs D.’

S. 1886.—‘While waiting for my re-election Disraeli agreed to certain changes in the Reform Bill about which he wrote to me at great length and with great anxiety for my approval, which after consideration I did not see my way to refuse. We had so far stepped in that we could not on such a point draw back, but it was a new proof that a great measure ought not to be in the hands of a minority but with those who can mould, and resist the moulding of others.’

' 12 GROSVENOR CRESCENT,
' S.W.

' MY DEAR CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER

' Unless you felt that the system of compounding was in itself so beneficial that it ought not to be disturbed, you took the logical and consistent course with respect to the Reform Bill. We have never treated compounding as a check which we insisted upon, but finding it so prevalent did our best to open a way out of it, to those who desired to be voters. Henley appears to me to have justified you in every respect, and though the change may now be more rapid than we anticipated, I do not see upon what principle we can object to enabling all who pay their rates to come upon the register. I dislike the Compounding Acts in themselves, and have no objection to their disappearance. As far as I am concerned therefore I approve of what you did.

' Yrs vy truly

' GATHORNE HARDY.

' *May 18, 1867.*'

D. June 28.—' Yesterday to Windsor to be present at the Bishop of Rochester's Homage, the old feudal ceremony. I found him arrived before me. All went smoothly and the Queen kept me for a talk afterwards, on Trades Unions and cruelty to animals. She was in excellent spirits and health apparently. A little alarmed about the Reform Bill in connection with Unions—as Claughton said to me, our security is in going lower than the combining classes. He is very pleasant. Reform occupied the evening and I do not know when I have been so sleepy in the House.'

D. July 2.—' At H.O. until the House met, when we were engaged on Reform until near 1 o'clock and

not pleasantly. Our course about the large boroughs is to my mind unsatisfactory and again and again I long to be out of the bother. General Peel attacked us vehemently and the House sneered at Disraeli's surrender. Odious work !'

D. July 10.—'Yesterday morning we got the Reform Bill through Committee and are to report it on Friday.'

D. July 16.—'Last night the Reform Bill was read a third time. Cranborne and Lowe led off with abundant bitterness, but I think Disraeli said all that was needed in reply. I was attacked, but Sandford did not tempt me to reply, and indeed it was needful to be silent or the debate would not have ended.'

D. August 9.—'The Reform Bill may be considered "through." Except, however, the limited vote, the Lords' amendments have been rather ruthlessly dealt with.—Oxford and Cambridge Colleges—Copyhold and Leasehold—Voting papers—large majorities against each change. ✓ What an unknown world we are to enter, but I believe more safely, or at least as safely, and more permanently than a £5 franchise would enable us to do. If the gentry will take their part they will be adopted as leaders. If we are left to the demagogues, God help us !'

S. 1887.—'As to the great Act of the Session on Reform, the disadvantage of want of numbers tried the Government, and they had to give way too much. Personally I doubt whether when we once began we could safely throw up the measure, and even now (1887) if the gentry will take their part they will be adopted as leaders. "If we are left to the demagogues, God help us!" So I wrote on August 9th when the Bill was through, and evidence has followed that we should not despair, even now when counties have been put upon the footing of boroughs. My great

fear is of one man idolatry, which in the case of Gladstone has worked, and is working, so much mischief.'

D. December 31.—'So ends '67, a busy, bustling, sad, and joyful, year! If I try myself politically, I cannot see that I have violated principle as our accusers say. If we moved there was nothing properly short of what we did. To say that I have no misgivings would be untrue, but not more than I should have had with the Bill of 1866, and there is the hope of a permanence. However, I have a presentiment that my tenure of office will be but short, for I cannot go against my convictions on many subjects on which we must be in a minority.'

CHAPTER XII

THE HOME OFFICE (1867—1868)

GATHORNE HARDY was appointed Secretary of State for the Home Department on May 17, 1867. His appointment had been universally anticipated, and was received with acclamation by the party, the press, and even by his political opponents. He himself entered upon his new duties with mixed feelings: his two immediate predecessors in that office had not been fortunate in gaining the approbation of the public. Sir George Grey, who in my father's opinion received scant justice, had been much criticised for the advice he had given to Her Majesty about the exercise of the prerogative of mercy in capital cases. Mr. Walpole had fallen upon evil times. The Reform riots and the destruction of the railings of Hyde Park had shaken his authority, and he had become the butt of the caricaturist and the lampooner. His health had broken down, his nerves were shattered, and he determined to retire, and was unshaken in his resolve, although his successor, who had served his first apprenticeship under him, and regarded him with the most unfeigned respect and admiration, did all he could to persuade him to stay on. He heartily approved of my father's appointment, and gave him his most cordial support. He remained a member of the Cabinet without a portfolio. 'He had,' writes my father, 'the knowledge, judgment, and temper in ordinary times, but he became uneasy when difficulties threatened, and even when really firm had the appearance of weakness, and wavering.'

D. May 9, 1867.—‘When I got to the office on Tuesday, Walpole immediately came in, in a state of deep depression, to tell me that he had felt he had, however unjustly, lost the confidence of his own friends and of the public, and had resigned; he wished me to feel, that if his place were offered me it was the very thing he desired, and that I was to have no scruple in taking it. I entreated him to reconsider it, and told him that there would be reaction in his favour in a short time, and so on; but in vain, and indeed he said he was so overdone that he really was not fit for his work, and would persist in going out. He has not yet done so, however, and perhaps Lord Derby has over persuaded him, but he looked thoroughly broken down.’

D. May 13.—‘We had a Cabinet on Saturday, and after it Lord Derby told me his intention, and spoke strongly of my claims to the H.O. He said the Houses of Lords and Commons and the public, at once fixed on me. Well, if I have kept their good opinion hitherto, can I do so in an office which has drawn discredit on most of its occupants, especially the two last? Opinion has been unjust to them and probably will be to me. Let me do my best and aim high.’

In this spirit he accepted the office. He did so with some misgiving, but his anticipation that public opinion might be unjust to him proved to be unfounded. When in 1884 he reviewed the events of his tenure of office he was able to record the contrary.

S.—‘During my tenure of office I was well supported by my colleagues and the party and kindly treated by the House. Indeed, I had warm friends among our opponents, and I remember that Bruce, when he succeeded me, expressed

the hope that he might leave the office with the same reputation. It is one where failures are at once detected, and one works in a glass hive.'

To add to his difficulties, which, as will be seen, were many and great, he very soon lost the experienced and able permanent head of the department, Mr. Waddington, who died on October 4, 1867. During the five months they had worked together he had gained his chief's cordial friendship and admiration, and his loss was much felt. It was no easy task to select a fitting successor, and the first name suggested will come as a surprise to many who have watched the distinguished career of the Earl of Halsbury, so long Lord High Chancellor of England, destined later to be a colleague of my father in three Cabinets, and one of his most valued friends. Every Christmas from 1893 to 1905 there are among my father's papers warm and cordial letters of private greeting from this old companion in arms.

S.—'Many named Hardinge Giffard, and indeed all thought him fittest, but I quietly ascertained that he would not leave his profession. The present Lord Chancellor stuck to his legal career, wisely as it has turned out. No offer was made to him, as I found that he would hardly have esteemed it an honour.'

His choice eventually fell upon another old friend and companion on the Northern circuit, Adolphus Liddell, Q.C., better known among his intimates as 'Dodo,' who filled the position long and ably. Some time, however, was needed for any new official to take up all the threads of the duties of the office, and the labours of the new Secretary of State were enhanced in consequence.

The history of his administration in this department is mainly connected with the difficulties and dangers he

encountered in dealing with the Fenian conspiracy. His first year was a year of universal terror, and was signalised by two desperate outrages, and threats of destruction and assassination in every quarter. I must confess to a feeling of some disappointment, which I fear will be shared by my readers, that I am not able to throw more light upon the secret history of the conspiracy. It is not from want of material of a sort. There are whole boxes full of secret reports, threatening letters, and comments on the communications of informers, but if it was difficult in 1867 to sift the chaff from the wheat, it has become impossible in 1909. Sir Robert Anderson, whose great services to the Irish Government during this period were the first steps of his distinguished career, has in some recent writings rather thrown ridicule upon the scare which prevailed, and seems inclined to look with more distrust upon the reported schemes of the Fenians than was felt by my father and his advisers. No doubt much of the information obtained from informers was false and misleading, but a heavy responsibility would have rested upon the authorities had they thought fit to neglect even the most unlikely warnings which had afterwards turned out to be correct. My father's own opinion, and he was no coward or scaremonger, was that many intended outrages were frustrated by timely precautions. Sir Robert Anderson may like to know that he was always envious of the advantages which Lord Mayo, the Irish Secretary, had in the possession of a superior intelligence department, and that my father was one of his warmest admirers.

In England the organisation of the police left much to be desired. Sir Richard Mayne, the head of the force, had been born in 1796, had been appointed joint commissioner with Colonel Rowan in 1829 after a short career at the Bar, and had been sole Commissioner since 1850. He was an old friend of my father's family, and had held his new Chief as a child upon his knees. He had shown high qualities,

and I should be ill fulfilling my father's wishes were I unduly to depreciate his services, but it is impossible to disguise that at this time he had neither the qualities, nor the materials, to deal satisfactorily with the entirely new emergency which had arisen. In 1908 the police force consisted of 18,000 men, of whom 2388 were sergeants, 575 inspectors, and 32 superintendents. In 1867 there were but 7000 to 8000 men, only three educated officers, and only 13 detectives.

I do not propose to tell over again the lamentable stories of the rescue of the Fenian prisoners at Manchester, and the murder of Sergeant Brett, who had charge of the prison van, which took place on September 18, 1867, or of the blowing up of Clerkenwell Prison on December 13, but it will be seen from the extracts from the Diary that both these terrible outrages might have been prevented had the police paid attention to explicit warnings, and adopted the most ordinary precautions. It will not be wondered at that my father thought it his duty to reorganise the force as far as he could, and to extemporise a new intelligence department. Had he remained longer in office it was his intention to carry out a thorough reorganisation; as it was, he took upon himself much responsibility, and was cordially supported by the Government. He made large additions to the numbers of the police, and after consultation with the Chancellor of the Exchequer established a detective department under Colonel Feilding, which was by no means sympathetically treated by the older authorities. At one time Sir Richard Mayne's police arrested and detained one of Colonel Feilding's extemporised force in the execution of his duty. My father thus summarises his opinion of his subordinate:

S.—'My new post brought me into contact with Sir Richard Mayne, who had so long controlled the police. He had known me from childhood, and perhaps felt my rule,

as in many cases I differed from him, and especially when Fenian troubles became pressing. He was wedded to his own ways, and had certain theories, and quoted certain authorities, especially Graham on detectives, which were quite inapplicable to the time and circumstances.'

S.—'A very secret interview was held on Dec. 22. We had a sample of Mayne's police in plain clothes. We wondered at seeing a crowd, but found it was drawn by the constables meant to protect us walking up and down the street, and recognised for what they were by wearing the pattern police boots which rogues and roughs knew so well.'

The following correspondence gives some idea of the difficulties of the situation, and of the steps taken :

'Nov. 13, '67.

'MY DEAR DISRAELI

'I send you a minute for your approval, if you approve. Does it express the view of the Cabinet? It is necessary to authorise the Receiver of police to advance money in order to equip the men &c.

'Yrs truly,

'GATHORNE HARDY.'

(Encl.)

'In consequence of the great work thrown upon the Metropolitan police, & from the fact that they do not get one day a week of rest, it is advisable that some considerable temporary addition, not exceeding one thousand men, be made to the force up to the meeting of Parliament; for whose pay &c. up to that time, the Government will be responsible.'

' Dec. 15, 1867.

' MY DEAR CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER

' On thinking over the mode of providing the detective organisation so much required, the question of "ways and means" presents the chief difficulty. An experiment might possibly be tried on secret service money, but if a department were permanently established, it could hardly be done without Parliamentary cognisance. Under present circumstances there could be no difficulty in avowing the need of secret service funds. As such a department should be the centre for secret information from all parts of the United Kingdom, and indeed the Continent, it could not form a part of the Metropolitan police, at all events while on its present footing. In fact its universal superintendence forms ample ground for detaching it altogether from the sway of the Commissioner. I shall be in London early to-morrow, and remain at least until Tuesday evening, so that I can hear from you what Mayo says about Captain Whelan, and will send a line to ask Col. Feilding to come to me at half past two, by which time I shall probably have heard from you on any points on wh: you desire my attention. Our laws sadly want change in some respects. I could not find a means of remanding Burke to a safe place of custody in a Government prison, as the Acts of Parliament limit them to Convicts, and it seemed doubtful whether such a step might not have invalidated the proceedings. Yet had I had the power I could have relieved the magistrates from anxiety, and saved the labour of a Colonel's guard and at least 150 police. I hope that I may see you free from gout, unless its coming out is needed thoroughly to set you up.

' Yours very sincerely,

' GATHORNE HARDY.'

' Dec. 26/67.

' MY DEAR CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER

' I have given directions that a proposal should be made in the necessary police Bill, for an increase in the salary of the two Assistant Commissioners, and am glad to see that Hankey will support it. As to the Chief I feel pretty certain that a rearrangement will become necessary. With a force of 7 to 8000 men it seems to me absurd to have but three educated officers. At present the step from them is to men of the same position as non-commissioned officers in the army, who cannot have the requisite influence wh: a gentleman wd: secure. I have reason to know that this is felt by the better class of police Superintendents & Inspectors themselves. Fariola's report has not yet come to my hands. It shall be forwarded to you when I have made myself master of it. There is not much stirring this morning. Anonymous warnings,—and one offer under name and address to give me information *personally*. I do not think this a desirable way of obtaining it, but I must try a confidential agent.'

The following extract from the Diary describes the outrage at Clerkenwell Prison :

D. December 15.—'The great outrage of Friday night absorbs one's thoughts. On Friday (Dec. 13) I was off at daybreak on the chance of seeing Mr. V. Q., our Swiss correspondent. He did not appear, and I came down at 2.20. At 4 occurred the explosion of which we had been warned *from Ireland* (!) and Liddell had warned the prison authorities, and Mayne. Pownall for the magistrates did well, but the police allowed the cask to be brought, placed, and lighted at the very hour and place notified. Strict

enquiry is needed. I went up with Stewart, and after a short stay at H.O. drove with Liddell to the prison, a wonderful sight. How those who were in the houses escaped with life is indeed a marvel. I called at St. Bartholomew's and heard a favourable report of the wounded. Then to Disraeli, with whom Col: Feilding. Difficult to arrange as proposed, but I must go up again to-morrow and see what can be done. More detectives, force, and skill is imperatively needed.'

No wonder Lord Derby writes as follows:

' Confidential.

' KNOWSLEY,

' Dec. 15th, 1867.

' MY DEAR HARDY

' Mayo has sent me over from Dublin a copy of Superintendent Ryan's Report, and also one of that from Mr. Pownall which you had forwarded to him: and looking to these documents, and to the Newspaper accounts (which I understand to be in the main correct) of the catastrophe in Clerkenwell, I find it difficult to come to any other conclusion than that there has been great remissness, or great incapacity, on the part of our Police authorities. It is not very much to the credit of our detective system that the first intelligence of a conspiracy which must have been known to many persons should have come to us from Ireland. But the information which we thus received was so full and complete that, if it had been properly acted upon, it should have been impossible to carry out the design. Mr. Pownall as a Middlesex Magistrate appears to have taken very sensible and judicious precautions, and it seems mainly owing to him that Burke and Casey are not either at liberty, or victims

of the explosion designed for their release. But the place of danger, the hour of the day, the mode intended to be taken of blowing up the outer wall with gunpowder, were so clearly set forth, and Mr. Pownall so properly assumed that Sir R. Mayne would have a sufficient force to watch the point of danger, that it is incredible how no notice should have been taken of persons placing a barrel against that very wall, and at the precise hour indicated, and in broad daylight applying a fuse of sufficient length to allow the operators to escape beyond the reach of the explosion.'

He writes again on the 17th:

'MY DEAR HARDY

'Judging from the letters which I have received this morning from Disraeli and yourself, I fear that Col: Feilding's missive will be productive of very little good. I am not sanguine as to our being able to establish any concert between the Fenians and the foreign Revolutionists. Our main danger lies nearer at home: and there, if I rightly understand you, you are thwarted both by the impossibility of either getting Mayne and Col: F. to act together, or of giving the latter an independent authority; and by the impossibility of finding men in the Metropolitan Police fit to act under him effectively. I do not see how the latter difficulty is to be solved; but it is not to our credit that in so numerous and so expensive a force, fit agents are not to be found. If that difficulty could be surmounted, I should think less of the other. It is doubtless undesirable that two separate authorities should be acting independently, when unity of action is essential; but if Mayne will not have "a rival near the throne," and cannot accomplish the necessary "detective" duties, he

must give way; and his interests must not be allowed to stand in the way of the public safety. We require much more information than we, or at all events the public, possess at present, to justify an application to Parliament for extraordinary powers: and there is therefore the more urgent necessity for making those which we possess thoroughly effective. The "bottle throwing" seems to be a recognised part of the system, and requires to be specially watched; and I think you have acted wisely in calling for a force of Special Constables in aid of the ordinary Police. I enclose a mem: received to-day from Murray respecting additional sentries to the Treasury (and I may add, other public buildings) and if you concur in it, I think you would do well to apply to the Commander-in-Chief for the extra guard. If Disraeli has not been misinformed, a serious plot to blow up the Houses of Parliament has only been counter-acted by the extreme vigilance with which they have been guarded. I need hardly say that I am sure at so critical a period as the present you will feel it your duty to remain at your post, and I shall look anxiously for reports from you. Mayo is coming over here this evening, and you shall hear from me if he has anything to communicate.

'Yours sincerely,

'DERBY.

'RIGHT HON^{BLE} GATHORNE HARDY, M.P.'

D. December 19.—'I am not altogether personally satisfied to find that Disraeli has been receiving information, *e.g.* as to a projected attack upon the Bank of England, of which, until the Cabinet, I was not told. At this moment personal feelings must be laid aside, but I feel a want of fair treatment about Feilding and this matter. All should be above-board. I am responsible, and should be dealt with

as if I were. I do not shrink in any way from the responsibility.'

The following letter from Mr. Disraeli looks like an 'amende honorable' in answer to some complaint :

January 4, 1868.

'MY DEAR HARDY

'I am greatly annoyed that, in addition to all your thought and care, you should have the vexation, at such a moment, of not being properly supported by the other offices.

'I won't attempt now to guess the offenders: but I wish to say that among the principal reasons why I remain in town is, that I shd be of service to you.

'You are placed in a proud, but most trying position, to wh: I for one believe you completely equal; but it is intolerable that in addition to yr almost isolated state at a moment when you ought to have the advantage of full council, you should experience the disadvantage of not having all our resources at your command.

'I will call upon you to-morrow at 3 o'clock unless I hear to the contrary.

'Yrs

'D.'

'*January 15.* We must clearly authorise the employment of the German, and I have no hesitation in saying that we ought in the second case to employ the special agents. There may be exaggeration, even something worse, but there is no surer way of arriving at a clear position in such matters as (sic) following up all intimations immediately. It's the safest way, of course, and it is the cheapest.

'Yrs

'D.'

The following letter to Sir R. Mayne shows that in my father's opinion various obvious clues were not being properly followed up :

January 4, 1868.

'MY DEAR MAYNE

'I am very much surprised that the very important report of Inspector Clarke was not at once communicated to me. There are several points upon which the veracity of X. might have been tested, and, if he is speaking the truth, more might have been obtained from him. It appears also that "several letters were found concealed in his cell, that a letter in cypher was found on him, and that he offers to read the cypher and explain it—that he had letters from Dublin concealed, which he can produce."

'Has any report been sent to Dublin with respect to O.? Has any enquiry or search been made for the residence of "Mrs. B. wife of a Fenian"? Has D. been watched, and with what result? These questions arise at once, and I am anxious for answers to them, for in the grave circumstances in which we are placed, no information should be neglected. I must ask for the letters which were found either on him or in his cell, if in possession of the police, if not I must apply to the Directors, or Governors of the prison at once. It astonishes me that these letters, if what he describes, have not been made use of. It is now three weeks since X. was examined, and some of the advantages to be derived from his statements, if true, may be lost: at all events they should be tested as far as possible at once.'

It will be seen from the above letters and extracts that Gathorne Hardy did not consider Sir Richard Mayne equal to the burden cast upon him, and did not hesitate to

express his dissatisfaction. The following extract from the Summary may conclude this part of the narrative, although chronologically it belongs to a later date :

S.—‘ Sir Richard Mayne did not long survive my retirement. He was not efficient in connection with Fenianism. But for an accident in the non-forwarding of a letter which had to be copied, a reorganisation would have taken place under my auspices. Bruce adopted the plan, and gave Colonel Pearson a place, as I had intended to do. It is only right to add that Mayne passed blamelessly through a long service, and that the new and unusual circumstances came when he was old and ailing.’

The two extracts from the Summary, which refer to the Manchester rescue and the Clerkenwell outrage, may fitly conclude these references to the unfortunate shortcomings of the police :

S.—‘ Had arrests taken place at Birmingham when we gave notice, the pistols used would either not have been bought or would have been seized.’

S.—‘ On December 13 at 4 P.M. the Clerkenwell explosion took place. It was meant to have happened the day before, and Burke asked leave to go and tie his shoe in a corner. Happily the plot failed, or some 60 prisoners in front of the wall would have perished, or been awfully maimed. On the 13th the prisoners were kept in cells and the warders armed, but no one imagined such a design as was tried, and the work outside was quietly performed, and the only wonder was that the perpetrator escaped with his life. The houses behind were blown out, and terrible suffering to great numbers ensued. I was there with Liddell early on the 14th, and saw to my amazement a vast piece of the wall blown out in the shape of a fan, while behind us the houses

were literally cut out. I believe engineers were amazed at the force of the powder so applied.'

Another most anxious duty imposed upon the Secretary of State is that of finally advising the Crown as to the exercise of the prerogative of mercy. Life and death are his to give, or to withhold. A jury are sworn to decide upon the facts; a judge, when a verdict of murder has been arrived at, has no discretion as to the sentence he must impose; but a Secretary of State until quite recently was called upon to weigh the facts as a Court of Appeal, and also to decide whether there were any such extenuating circumstances as justified him in tempering justice with mercy, and commuting the capital sentence. The exercise of this discretion is, rightly and properly, most jealously watched by the public, who are quick to mark any sign of weakness or caprice. I had many opportunities of noticing the extraordinary care and minute attention given to this painful duty. A brief holiday in Paris, one of the few permitted during this anxious period, was at once cut short in order to give an opportunity for personal interviews and investigations, although the facts of the cases under review were simple, and the judge's advice unhesitating and unambiguous. This care was rewarded by a remarkable immunity from unfavourable criticism.

In the cases of the Manchester and Clerkenwell outrages, the public and political dangers had to be considered. Much sympathy was felt in many quarters for the culprits who had to pay the penalty for the murder of Sergeant Brett at Manchester. Their youth, and the romantic nature of their exploit, pleaded in their favour. But punishment is not decreed in a spirit of vengeance, but as a deterrent, and the condition of the country, and the prevalence of desperate counsels and threats, made it impossible to abstain from exacting the full penalty of the law. They were tried by a special Commission consisting of Justices Mellor and Blackburn, two of the most experienced and careful judges,

and neither of these had any doubt whatever that the men executed were the ringleaders in the crime, and that the fatal shot had actually been fired by Allen. My father would have been the last to wish to shelter himself from the responsibility for his decisions, but in this semi-political case they were supported by the unanimous opinion of his colleagues. There is a mass of correspondence on the subject from which I select the temperate and reasoned appeal of Mr. Bright, which gives the arguments for leniency in their most cogent form :

November 15, 1867. John Bright to G. H.

‘DEAR MR. HARDY

‘I am sure you will forgive me for sending you the enclosed, which is an article from the *Manchester Examiner*.

‘That paper has a larger circulation than any other newspaper in this county, or in England out of London, and has, as you will probably know, a very high character and a great political influence. I believe in this article it expresses an opinion which prevails here to a great extent & wh: is gathering in force from day to day.

‘As you know, I am against the death penalty in all cases—but there are cases in which I say nothing, because in them, as the law now stands, death is inevitable. The sad case now before us, & wh: I doubt not is giving you great anxiety, is not one of ordinary crime, and it cannot be considered without reference to its political bearings. My impression is that in this country the Fenian conspiracy partakes somewhat of the nature of a disease, and should be treated from that point of view. There are men who become violently affected, poisoned even, by a passion, on whom punishment of the most terrible character has, and

can have, no influence, except to excite to greater animosity and to more desperate deeds of vengeance. I rely on the moderation of the Government and on time, to remove the existing excitement, and I fear that the gallows, if called into action, will only make more bitter and desperate the passion which moderation and time would surely tend to assuage. To convince all the disaffected, whether here or in the States, of the firmness and power of the Government, is better in the long run than to exhibit it as unrelenting and cruel in the administration of the law. We have a large Irish population in these towns, and my clear conviction is, that, with them, mercy will have a far better effect than severity in this case, and I should rejoice exceedingly if the Govt could see its way to a commutation of the sentences of the men now in peril. It is the opinion of the priests in Manchester that the man who fired the fatal shot is not now in custody. Allen is but 19 years old—a wild enthusiastic youth—he acted on wild extravagant political impulses, & murder in its disgraceful and criminal shape had no place in his mind. The question of the evidence is treated fairly in the enclosed article, & I cannot but hope that considerations somewhat like those of the writer may have presented themselves to your own mind. I believe it would be a relief to the public feeling in this district if the convicts were handed over to a life sentence—to imprisonment for life, & that the gallows were not called into play in the great difficulty which the Irish question has brought upon us. There are men in Parliament & out of it who are never in favour of mercy, but the clemency of the Govt has many friends, and every day they become more numerous. Pray forgive me for writing thus to you. I can imagine your anxiety to do what is right before God & the country & I would not willingly add to

it. I think it my duty to write to you & you will not condemn me. Do not trouble yourself with any reply.'

A remarkable incident in this case was the conduct of the disorderly mob which forced their way into the Home Office, and almost into my father's very presence. Such a reasoned appeal as that of Mr. Bright received his most thoughtful consideration, but he was not one to be moved by intimidation or threats.

D. November 18, 1867.—'The Clerkenwell folk, who had a meeting *re* Fenians, asked me to receive a deputation, which, as in other cases, I declined by letter as the request was conveyed. Picture my surprise and indignation when on hearing voices I gradually woke to the fact that they were in the next room making speeches! Perceval [his private Secretary] came to tell me they had passed Osborne [the messenger] who unfortunately did not resist more than by word. We sent for police, and, on a second summons from Osborne at my direction, they went away, but met the police, so they saw what was meant for them. I wish I had had the chance to eject them, not by violence, for that would not have been needed, but by showing police ready to act. They are said to have made most seditious speeches, of which I shall have a report, but if Osborne had been pushed out of the way as well as called a scoundrel, I would have sent the offenders before a magistrate. Lawlessness is indeed rife. Stewart [his eldest son] writes in alarm for my personal safety, which must not be purchased by ignominious truckling to these people. The law-loving will stand by a just and proper firmness, and due administration of the law. It would never do to weigh consequences to oneself. At the same time prudent precautions must be taken, for it is clear, audacity may bring anyone into your

presence. These men had only to turn the handle of a door and they were before me. I fretted with indignation while waiting for police. Mayne came at last, quite alarmed for me, as Perceval's first messenger had been foolishly panic-stricken. The Duke of Cambridge came just after, and it is well he had not to come through the room. Probably it will be thought that he came on a summons, which was far from the case.'

D. November 21.—'Cabinet at 3, unanimous as to letting the law take its course as to Allen, Larkin, and Gould. Wrote to the Queen accordingly. Called up from my first sleep to read a note from Mayne announcing Burke's (*i.e.* Winslow's) arrest in London. The leader of assassination projects taken after all our failures!—a grand coup—Ferguson begged me not to walk through St. James Park, but it would be intolerable to go about looking over one's shoulder. Taking fair precautions, one must trust to the good God who has preserved me hitherto. The next few days will be an anxious time, but public opinion will back our course I feel certain. Stewart came in to see me—poor fellow! he was really anxious about me, and urged that I should not walk about at present—but, as Lord Shaftesbury said with more than tears in his eyes, "You are in God's hands and in Him trust." I cannot believe in any great danger, but if I did, how could I avoid it? I must take such proper precautions as are right, but cannot be always "looking over my shoulder." In the House Maguire brought on the legal question and used some strong language that we should be guilty of legal murder. Others followed in the same line. I spoke shortly, and I hope temperately, saying that I would not attempt to overrule the Judges who had accepted so painful a responsibility. Gladstone put the case very well, and Karslake followed and so all ended.'

D. November 23.—‘All over at Manchester, and all quiet, which with the extensive precautions taken could hardly be otherwise. Poor wretches, I have thought much of them, and prayed for them as myself. When I came up yesterday from my busy and anxious day I was cheered by finding Jane and the girls with whom I spent a happy evening. They will not go until Monday and it is useless to urge them to do so. Many warnings as to my personal safety.’

In 1887 he records his considered opinion that the course pursued was a right one, and that ‘justice required the signal example which the Cabinet unanimously agreed should be made.’ He spent the Sunday following at his London house in Grosvenor Crescent. He had left Eaton Square a long time, but had formerly resided at No. 35.

D. November 25.—‘Perceval sent warning of some strange fellow who had been trying to get admission to 109 Eaton Square, as the residence of the Home Secretary. Nothing is known of him here, but Mayo reports the coming of some desperado from Dublin with bad intentions towards the Prince of Wales. We have telegraphed to General Knollys.’

As to this, General Knollys writes in reply, giving the precautions adopted at Sandringham for the protection of its owner: ‘He had not thought it right to alarm his Royal Highness.’

The letters from Lord Shaftesbury mentioned in the above extracts from the Diary, and my father’s reply to that of his eldest son, follow here:

Lord Shaftesbury to G. H., November 22, 1867.

‘Our conversation yesterday almost gives me permission to say a few words to you—respecting yourself. Tho I have no great apprehension from these violent and unruly

ruffians, still you are bound to use all secondary means for your safety.

'Trusting in God, as you do, you will, I am sure, agree that such precautions are not only allowed, but enjoined, by His Word.

'A working man—a great ally of mine—who was at the Clerkenwell meeting last night, tells me that the language surpassed in atrocity anything he could have imagined.'

'Nov. 18, '67.

'MY DEAR STEWART

'We are a little uneasy at rumours about Mrs. Disraeli's health, wh: always affects her husband's fitness for work. She is (I believe) beyond 70 a good deal, which people do not generally know.

'As to my personal safety, that is in God's hands, but of course due precautions must be taken to protect everyone's life. I am too happy to be indifferent to mine, but all duties involve responsibilities, & it would never do to forecast consequences too gloomily. Threats are not always realised, although I believe in this instance there are desperate hands engaged ready for any bad work. I hope I may be spared to live long among you all, or if called to rest, that no shame may shadow my resting place by Janie. Much love,

'Your affecte Father

'GATHORNE HARDY.'

It is by no means strange that apprehension was felt as to the personal safety of the Home Secretary. I give two samples out of the many threatening letters preserved among the papers. One was directed to 'that bloody murderer Hardy':

December 14th.—‘The members of the Fenian brotherhood of London do hereby give you solemn warning, that if you persist in oppressing and proscutig (sic) our countrymen as you are now doing we have solemnly sworn by the sacred throne of Almighty God to lay your worthless and lifeless body at our countrys feet. We have sworn to do it, and by Gods help we will, even if our lives like Allen Larkin and Gould is to pay the forfeit on a public scaffold. We are prepared to offer up our lives as a sacrifice for our bleeding country, we will have our scouts by day and night in town or country and when you little think your life will be swept out of your worthless body Liken whirlwind without any compunction. Remember Allen said that he would die for Kelly so will we forfeit our lives on the scaffold after we have had yours first. They met their doom like men, and by God we will meet our fate if God wills it, so think not because this letter is not wrote in a fine flowing hand that the writer is some gross uneducated man. He and his family has suffered bitterly in their own country from the fearful oppression of England and ask not a better death than to give it up for my poor bleeding country after we have had our satisfaction on one English minister who has turned a deaf ear to mercy. Remember the House of detention Clerkenwell, if that can be done what cannot? We implore you to make your peace with God, ask him for that mercy which you refused to the Manchester patriots for we will have none. If we can have your life without being captured, well and good, but whether or not if we are taken Gods will be done. We beg of you for the last time to prepare your coffin, for it is not the men of Cork that you have to deal with, but men from the bloodstained country of Tipperary who have always wiped out a wrong by a life, as we will do now or when the opportunity

occurs, for a more sanguinary man never existed than the present Home Secretary

‘Release Burke and others, or prepare in Gods name to meet your God! Given under our marks XXXXXX
‘THE FENIAN BROTHERHOOD.’

(2) ‘Mr Hardy is implored to take every precaution. At a meeting of the brotherhood last night it was resolved “to remove the principal member of the bloodthirsty Government” and a ballot was taken for the man who was “to execute the task on the Home Secretary whether by knife or pistol.” The writer was present and knows the man to whom the task of assassination was confided, but it is more than his life is worth to reveal his name. Mr Hardy will be watched night and day till a safe opportunity presents itself. Let him beware of being abroad alone. There has been enough blood shed for poor oppressed Ireland. Several Englishmen were present at the meeting.’

Lord Derby writes on November 24, enclosing a threatening letter which he ridicules:

‘I cannot say that I am very apprehensive of being “blown up,” nor, I suppose, are you, or “Sir Ritchard Main.” The letter requires more decyphering than I think it is worth.’

His letters quoted above, and the following extracts, give his own views on the question of his personal safety. He felt no fear, and, if he had, would certainly not have permitted it to influence his actions. It was difficult to induce him to adopt any precautions:

D. November 29, 1867.—‘Fenian troubles still go on, and our law is inefficient to prevent them, and yet there is hardly a case to call for new legislation yet. Arms are

being purchased, and in Ireland (at Cork) stolen. I am warned of danger, and take the precaution of cabs at night, but if real assassins regardless of their safety are after me, what can I do? Somehow I cannot believe in great danger, I have seemed so far safe under the shadow of His Wings hitherto that I ought not to fear. Yet it may be some event striking the imagination is needed to arouse England to its (I won't say danger) but risk of outrage and trouble. Desperate men are abroad and desperate means may be tried.'

D. May 2, 1868.—'Fergusson tells me that warning letters about me came from three different quarters yesterday, and wishes precautions to be taken. What can one do? It is impossible to regulate movements so as always to be guarded, even if it were endurable. A good God has hitherto preserved me, and in Him I must put my trust. To say the truth I cannot feel uneasy about the matter, though I know there are men in the Fenian conspiracy ready for anything. It does not seem to come home to me, and it is a blessing that one can go on one's ordinary work without apprehension.'

His confidence turned out to be well founded; we never had evidence of any overt act threatening his safety, which gave far more anxiety to his family and his friends than to himself. There were rumours of strange men in the Bedbury woods, and requisitions from the County Chief Constable for additional police and arms. In London my mother, looking out of the window of the house in Grosvenor Crescent, noticed suspicious-looking characters lurking in the street, but on calling the attention of the policeman on duty she received the reassuring answer 'they are our own people.' He dates the decline of Fenianism from the arrest of Burke :

S.—‘The arrest of Burke, who was at the bottom of most of the bad conspiracies, did a great deal of good, and Fenianism declined afterwards, but not without a final outburst of crime. He was taken the night (Nov. 20) of the Cabinet decision on Allen, Larkin, and Gould.’

In 1868 the correspondence and entries relating to Fenianism and outrage become gradually reduced in number. The threats that menaced the greatest in the land, the precautions taken for her protection, and her outspoken views upon the subject, demand a separate chapter. A few samples follow of the many alarming warnings which came to the Home Office in these years of unrest. The first, a letter of Lord Lyons, our Ambassador in Paris, is interesting from its quotation of the conversation of the Emperor Napoleon :

Lord Lyons to Lord Stanley, January 23, 1868.

‘The Emperor told me last night that his Ambassador at St. Petersburg had a curious conversation with the Emperor Alexander. The Emperor Alexander had, he said, asked the Ambassador whether the French Government were fully aware of the extent of the plot that was being actively carried on for the destruction of all the monarchical Governments of Europe and the assassination of Sovereigns and Royal Families. After giving some details, his Majesty had suggested to the Ambassador that the several Governments should communicate information to each other, and unite their efforts to defend themselves. The Emperor Napoleon proceeded to tell me, that it was asserted that the first and principal attempt was to be made in England, that the palace and public buildings were to be blown up, and the Queen and Royal Family seized and put on board a vessel in the Thames, “and disposed of.” I am not quite

sure whether this was part of the conversation between the Emperor Alexander and the French Ambassador, but I think it was. The Emperor Napoleon went on to say that the supposed details of this scheme to overthrow the Government of England were of course absurd, but he seemed to suggest that we should be vigilant, and that he himself would be glad to co-operate with us. He said that Mazzini, who had let him alone for some time, had now again taken up the idea of assassinating him, and was busily employed in making plans for effecting his purpose. He told me Mazzini was very ill, and he did not express any wish for his recovery! The Emperor talked to me a long time and related interesting anecdotes, some very amusing, of the conduct of various persons to him in past times.'

The Dean of St. Paul's (Milman) answers a communication, giving details of the precautions he has taken for the protection of 'the most vulnerable parts of St. Paul's, the Dome and upper parts. Admissions to the Galleries were suspended for the present.' The Duke of Cambridge furnishes engineers to inspect the sewers under public buildings, the gas-works are to be blown up, and the Tower of London fired. The Mayor of Southampton is warned to watch the powder magazines, and the powder mills at Dartford are threatened. Mr. Disraeli reports serious plots against the House of Commons and the Bank of England. A Venetian Doctor of Laws and ex-Senator suggests, with sublime disregard of the British Constitution, that martial law shall everywhere be put in force, and all convicted of sedition should be condemned to death 'by shooting, not hanging,' and that authors of incendiary papers should be condemned to from one to ten years' imprisonment! An anonymous correspondent, in writing carefully disguised, suggests that a vigorous search should be made at once in the vaults and secret recesses of every Catholic place

of worship in London and its suburbs. 'At midnight on Christmas eve the audience will come fully armed, and a simultaneous onslaught will be made from every chapel in London and the breadth of England and Ireland.' More reliable information comes through Sir R. Anderson of the ramifications of the Fenian movement in Canada, with details of their finance and personnel which show the completeness of his knowledge.

My father's conduct of other departmental duties may be just touched upon. He failed, much to his regret, to pass a Parks Regulation Bill, although he was supported by good majorities, including his predecessor, Sir George Grey, whose help he gratefully acknowledges. Time was fatal to his measure, which was massacred with the other innocents at the end of the session. He preserved a curious letter from that eminent judge, Lord Wensleydale, pointing out that Her Majesty's subjects could not have any right by law to occupy the Royal Parks for the purpose of holding meetings on any subject :

'They may have, by usage, a right of way in one or more directions, but a right for all the Queen's subjects to occupy Royal Parks for any purpose whatever, cannot be gained by usage however long and uninterrupted.'

His recollection of the State functions in which his office gave him a prominent position, is sufficiently indicated in his Summary. It is interesting as giving his impressions of the two strange Eastern visitors, Abdul Aziz, the Sultan of Turkey, and Ismail Pacha, the Khedive of Egypt, whose visits caused much excitement at the time :

S.—'The Sultan's visit, and the great Ball at the India Office, were in July. He gave a sort of Levée at Buckingham Palace and spoke to us all through Fuad Pacha. I remember being struck by the silky softness of his hands, as if no work had ever been done by them. The Ball was

quite the most beautiful thing of the sort I ever saw, sadly marred by the death of Madame Musurus. Dear Edith and I were at the Guildhall entertainment, which was nobly done. The pushing and obtrusiveness of the Ministers of some foreign countries was outrageous. Ambassadors and Cabinet Ministers were in the room with the Sultan, and it was filled. The next was set apart for Ministers, but they insisted on forcing their way into the Sultan's presence. I tried to retire in their favour, but the Aldermen, properly, but with immense difficulty, got them to withdraw. I name no names, but some were coarsely violent. The Khedive Ismail was also a visitor, and I met him at Marlborough House at a great Banquet. How well I recollect Lords Derby and Chelmsford with myself steadfastly declining the smoking tent, the effluvia of which however entered the room, and left a lasting aroma on our clothes! Ismail had not the dignity of his Suzerain, but looked much more fit for a work-a-day world.'

CHAPTER XIII

THE QUEEN AND THE FENIANS (1867—1868)

THE news of the Manchester outrage reached my father at Balmoral on the evening of September 18, 1867. He had arrived there as Minister in attendance on the 13th, dined with the Queen and Prince and Princess Christian, the Prince 'thoroughly done with his day's deer-stalking,' at nine the same evening, and noted that his Royal Mistress was 'looking very well, and exceedingly merry.' The entries for the next few days are full of descriptions of the quiet Highland life so well delineated in the Queen's own Diary. He describes two days' deer-stalking with Prince Christian, one in wind and rain of no ordinary force, when he was on the hill from 8 A.M. to 8.30 P.M.—'not a bad day's work, but I was not really tired'—and a picnic at Glen Muick on the 14th when 'the Queen drove 30 miles to see some ruin, though with her the rain was incessant.' On the morning of the 18th he had driven to lunch at Invercauld, and had seen Charles Kingsley land his first salmon, but in the evening the thunderbolt fell, and this quiet life was at an end.

D. September 18.—'After we got home I took a walk, and then came in for another budget. I was rejoicing over the capture of Col. Kelly at Manchester, and intending to tell the Queen at dinner, when a telegram came to tell that an armed mob had rescued him and the other prisoner from the prison van, and shot the driver. This at Manchester! What are we coming to? Fergusson

[Sir James Fergusson, his Under-Secretary] seems to have taken all precautions, as I telegraphed back and had an answer before I came to my bedroom. The Queen took it calmly.'

'The Queen took it calmly.' That is the keynote to all that follows. I am old enough to remember the panic which possessed all classes during the next six months, but Her Majesty throughout showed a Royal courage and intrepidity, although much information from the most trustworthy sources pointed to plots and danger threatening her Royal person. The difficulty was to get her to adopt the precautions recommended by her advisers and her household. The letters which I am permitted to publish show how irksome to her was the restraint imposed upon her movements, and how she exulted when one at least of the alleged plots, against which the most elaborate precautions had been taken, turned out to be a mere canard. In justice to the Government and Home Secretary, the responsibility resting upon them in respect of the Queen's safety must be weighed.

A few more extracts are all that need be given from the account of the visit to Balmoral, which was naturally cut short by this untoward event.

D. September 19.—'A telegram came to me at dinner which I sent in to the Queen. They had arrested 29 of the rescuers at Manchester, and one who shot the policeman who was killed. An atrocious crime! No news of the apprehension of Kelly—that is what I want to hear.'

D. September 22.—'The Fenian news is unsatisfactory, for there is reason to think that Deasy has got clear away to France; at all events someone answering to his description has done so. I have made up my mind to go South at once, as one ought to be careful with business of that kind.

Since lunch I have had a long interview with the Queen, who was very gracious and cheerful. She spoke of Fenians, more care in detectives (Col. Kinloch and I had been talking of this on our way from kirk), Oxford [the pot-boy who shot at her], and the attacks on her; dwelling most on the blow on her head, the mark of which, she said, remained for ten years. Firearms she had not minded, as if they missed there was nothing to trouble you, and a moving carriage prevented a good aim. I was with her more than half an hour, and she evidently approved of my going South to look after police, &c.'

Sir Stafford Northcote succeeded my father as Minister in attendance. He writes on October 2 by the Queen's desire :

Sir Stafford Northcote to G. H.

'H.M. says that the Government ought to take some very stringent measures to increase the police force, or to make the detectives more efficient. She also asks why the Special Commission, which was decided on, has not been announced. H.M. feels that great energy and firmness ought to be displayed by the Government, or the consequences will be very serious. Please let me know, or write direct to the Queen, what is to be done; I am afraid we shall have to meet Parliament next month unless King Theodore is wise enough to give up his captives. We cannot commence hostilities without the support of the House of Commons. Our preparations go on satisfactorily, and I don't doubt that we shall do the work well if we are driven to it, but I am very suspicious of Egypt, and am afraid the Viceroy will make his own game out of the business. I have not done such good execution among the stags as you did, tho' I had a tolerable chance on Monday.'

The end of the Queen's stay at Balmoral was interfered with by information of a plot for her abduction. A number of letters from General Grey, her Private Secretary, give all the details with regard to it that I have been able to find. On October 13 he writes :

'With only one way into this glen, and one out of it, I cannot say I have much fear of such an attempt as the telegram from Manchester speaks of. The wildness and absurdity of the scheme seem too great even for the Fenian madmen. Suppose they get hold of the Queen during her drive somewhere, unless their object was her life, what could they do? I would defy them to get out of the valley of the Dee. I cannot believe seriously in it, but we are prepared as if the danger was real.'

He writes in more alarm on the 17th :

'Since writing last, the post brought me a letter with the police report of Mr. K.'s information. Insane as it may appear, I think it hardly possible to doubt, after this, that some plan was really in contemplation for carrying off the Queen. The "Craft" spoken of would probably be sent round to some point on the North Coast between Peterhead and Inverness, and as from the Don, to which the Queen frequently makes expeditions, and beyond it, there is a practicable road for carriages, it seems the direction in which an attempt at the abduction of the Queen would probably be made. I will not say that the success of such a scheme, had they chanced to fall in with the Queen, would have been impracticable, for an armed party, with conveyances provided, might have reached the coast from the Don in 4 or 5 hours. I have told the Queen that Lord Derby was anxious that the journey South should be taken by day.'

There are no fewer than ten letters referring to this matter of the journey. Her Majesty had the greatest objection to a day journey, but the authorities were urgent that she should not travel through the manufacturing districts by night during the excitement of the trials at Manchester. On October 18 General Grey writes that Her Majesty reluctantly consents to the precautions taken, but finds them very irksome; on the 22nd that she objects to a military guard on her journey, and on the 23rd that she has consented to the day journey through England, the Royal train to start from Ballater at 9 p.m. She travelled home to Windsor on November 1, and all went smoothly.

On November 14th General Grey reports the Queen's opinion on these alarms in the following terms:

'It is now four weeks since great alarm was expressed for the Queen's safety, and though Her Majesty believed then, and still believes, that there was no ground for such alarm, or at least that the grounds for it were much exaggerated, yet it is clear that there is an organised party in the country whose object is mischief.'

The Diary brings the narrative back to the Home Office.

D. October 15.—'Such a busy, bustling day at the Home Office, where I arrived soon after 10, and never left, but for five minutes to attend a Council, until 6. The report from Manchester of a threatened attempt to seize the Queen, and necessary arrangements. Many other Fenian matters.'

D. October 20.—'Fergusson was away at the Derby banquet on Thursday, and so I was kept busy, and latish, at the H.O. Still Fenian threatenings from various quarters. Some rather curious confirmation of the reports touching Balmoral, but nothing there fortunately. The Queen is warned, and will be cautious, and I hear to-day that her

journey is arranged as we wished, so that she will traverse the suspected districts by daylight. On Saturday Fergusson sent a messenger to inform me of an attempt to burn with Greek fire a Chester police station, but I fancy it was but a small affair, and was barely noticed in the papers. It will, however, alarm to know that such horrid means may be used.'

D. November 8.—'The Cabinet without Lord Derby, who again has gout. It becomes a very serious matter. Mayo seems certain that there is an assassination society formed under Kelly's guidance, and that much blood will be shed unless some of the leaders are taken. A curious paper was sent me by the Duke of Cambridge which would show that the Rouges abroad are in alliance with the Fenians, whose numbers the writer estimates very highly. He too warns that assassination and burning are to be the weapons of warfare. Perhaps there may be truth in this, and certainly the continual shootings corroborate. Keogh, the Irish Judge, from Mayo's account, is in great alarm. One must trust; for it would be a dreadful condition to live in constant apprehension. Doing one's duty steadily and thinking only of that is a safeguard.'

Warnings from all quarters, probable and improbable, are noted, but the one which gave the most anxiety and trouble was a message from Lord Monck, the Governor-General of Canada, that certain vessels had sailed from New York on the 9th of December with the design of abducting the Queen from Osborne. This report, combined with other threats, led to great precautions being taken at Osborne during the Queen's residence there. On December 14th General Grey writes :

'Yours about the vessel said to have left New York on

the 9th. Her Majesty sent for me after my arrival, and I was able to express, or rather to insinuate, an opinion that her Majesty was peculiarly unsafe at Osborne. She took what I said without anger, but was evidently indisposed to hear a word on the subject. She said that every precaution had been taken about the grounds, that she never went outside them after dark, and that, if I tried to prevent her going out, I should make her ill.'

There are many similar letters, and General Grey also had a personal interview with the Home Secretary on the 17th. It must be remembered that the Clerkenwell explosion had occurred on the 13th, and given a cogent additional proof of the audacity of the conspirators. Her Majesty's letters so far as they relate to this matter, follow in their order. Certain portions of them, not directly referring to the subject of the chapter, are omitted.

December 19, 1867. Confidential.

'The Queen adds a few lines to say to Mr. Hardy that she has seen his letters to Genl. Grey, & that every precaution that can be taken any where without causing undue alarm will be taken. The Queen is most anxious to do all that is prudent and right, but she can assure Mr. Hardy that there is no more danger (indeed, in her opinion far less) here, than elsewhere. She would ask Mr. Hardy always for the future to communicate things regarding the necessity of peculiar precautions to herself direct, as nothing can be done, or ought to be done, without her knowledge and permission.

'After all the Queen herself is the person who ought to know what should be guarded against.

'Mr. Hardy may however assure any of those who are alarmed [as to the Queen's safety] in telling them that every

possible precaution is taken, & that there is no greater danger here than elsewhere.

'She is never out here beyond her own immediate grounds after it is at all dark.'

The next letter is undated—an unusual circumstance, but it was probably written on the following day, as the Diary records that on the 21st 'I had another long letter from the Queen and replied in the course of the day.'

Osborne (undated). Probably December 20, 1867.

'The Queen thanks Mr. Hardy for his letter. She concludes that the Duke of Buckingham will have informed him of his interview with her this morning. The Queen, though not herself believing in the feasibility of any attempt by a body of men, (especially here, and still more in Scotland) is fully alive to the duty of neglecting no precautions which can reassure her faithful subjects, and can assure Mr. Hardy that they are, and will be, taken, but she rarely at any time is out late here beyond the grounds, and wd. naturally make a point of not doing so whilst there is any cause for alarm. Windsor the Queen does not consider nearly so safe, for there are a great many nasty people always about there—and she would have to go somewhere else. While the Queen will submit to being almost a state prisoner, which to herself is more dreadful than to any of her subjects, who do not know what the irksomeness of constant *gêne* and being constantly watched and surrounded is, she must have it clearly understood that she cannot continue these great precautions for very long. It would be utterly unbearable for herself and for her children and attendants. She must have this clearly understood. The Queen is anything but foolhardy, quite the reverse, but she

does value her quiet liberty as much, and far more, for standing on such a pinnacle of lonely grandeur, as any of her subjects. Should there be any important intelligence to communicate, or any notice to be given of any suspicious person being known to leave London for Southampton—the Queen wishes Mr. Hardy to telegraph in cypher to her.'

Osborne, December 28, 1867.

'The Queen has to thank Mr. Hardy for many letters. She feels much for him all the anxiety and worry of the present time, but she is inclined to think that there is a great deal of unnecessary, tho' perhaps unavoidable, alarm. A great deal of the information evidently is false, or greatly exaggerated. She is still of opinion that Lord Monck's intelligence is not authentic, but merely intended to create alarm. She hopes that by degrees these alarms will be valued as they ought, and the people will then cease to do what evidently answers no purpose.

'Nothing of the slightest unpleasant nature has taken place here. The only *dangerous* people taken up being Prince Arthur, and the Queen's own female servant living at the Swiss Cottage, who was not allowed to go into her own house!!!'

Her Majesty's next letter, dated January 8, 1868, is of special interest, as it gives her own account of all the dangers she had gone through during her reign. She was naturally delighted at the 'explosion of the Canada canard,' to which, as her previous letters show, she had never given any credence.

D. January 10, 1868.—'My correspondence with the Queen has been amusing. She is charmed at the explosion of the Canada canard.'

Osborne, January 8, 1868.

'The Queen has to thank Mr. Hardy for *two* most satisfactory letters with regard to this *absurd* and *mad* story from Canada, which she *must* say Ld. Monck ought to be utterly ashamed at having credited, and (Mr. Hardy must forgive her for saying) the *Govt. also*—tho' *she* thinks *he* was never himself inclined to share in the extravagant alarm which took possession of everyone almost. To the Queen this is *a great satisfaction* and *a great triumph*. *She never* for one moment credited the absurd ideas of *danger* either *here* or *at Balmoral*, from the *utter impossibility* of the plans being *carried out*.

'The Queen has now reigned nearly 31 years, is 48 years old, has lived in troubled times, 48 especially, when the troops were under arms every night; and when the Queen was laid up during her confinement with Princess Louise, the mob was heard shouting in the streets every night: she has been shot at 3 times, once knocked on the head, threatening letters have over and over again been received, and yet *we never* changed our mode of living or going on! This the Queen hopes will be a lesson for the future, and that these *panics* (which have affected the Queen's health very *much* from the annoyance and worry which they entailed) will not be again recurred to *every 2 or 3 months*.

'Lord Monck ought *never* to have telegraphed as he did. He should merely have said—"there are suspicious and dangerous characters supposed to have sailed; be on your guard." Experience will, no doubt, show everyone *how* much reliance *can* be placed on informers. For all this the Queen does not *at all object* to precautions in the way of extra police &c. being taken, and Mr. Hardy is no doubt aware that a *fortnight before* the Queen came here she authorised

Sir T. Biddulph to concert with the Police Inspector as to what extra precautions for guarding the possible places where people might come in should be taken, and she believes 10 more policemen were ordered down and two detectives sent to Ryde and Cowes. *All* the other extraordinary measures—of ships—nearly 200 (!) of the guards &c., and 10 more police being sent for—*all were merely* in consequence of this *disgraceful* and ludicrous hoax, and the Queen wishes to know whether Mr. Hardy does not think that *some of these* precautions might be *gradually* relaxed, as they entail much exposure and fatigue to the men?

‘The Queen will remain here till the 18th or 19th of Feb:—and perhaps *before that* we might lessen these precautions—which were solely taken in consequence of Ld. Monck’s telegram.

‘During the 23 years we have lived here with a very *small police force, never one single* stranger got into the grounds. And the Prince and Queen were in the habit of walking about anywhere alone, in the lanes and roads, without *any servant* & never met anyone! *Now* the Queen (since 61) never goes even a few yards beyond the house, *anywhere* without her servant following her.’

Osborne, January 10, 1868.

‘The Queen thanks Mr. Hardy very much for his kind letter received to-day. She is sorry and shocked that he should not have known about the Guards and other precautions. But really that Friday 20th of December every one lost their heads and seemed to think the whole Island teemed with danger, excepting herself, her children, the Ladies, and *one or 2 other Men!*

‘Sir T. Biddulph is so calm & reasonable that Mr.

Hardy may safely rely upon his doing all that is right, and no more.

‘Mr. Hardy’s telegram just in is most satisfactory.

‘In the midst of all his harassing duties the Queen thinks that Mr. Hardy’s mind may be diverted in looking at the pages of the little book wh. she forwards with this bag.’

The telegram referred to announced the capture of the armed assassin from whom Lord Mayo had so providentially escaped.

D. January 10.—‘I telegraphed and wrote to the Queen the capture of Lennon Martin this day. He seems to have been lying in wait for Mayo on Tuesday night, but Providence preserved him, as he did not stay his usual time at the Castle.’

From Lord Mayo, January 9, 1868.

‘MY DEAR HARDY

‘We have made a most important arrest. The police, after long and anxious watching, succeeded in arresting Lennon last night, not a moment too soon as there is no doubt he would have committed a great crime before long. I send you the details of his arrest which will interest you. I believe I had a narrow escape, as the night before last was the only night that I have not left the Castle between 7 & 8 for some time. Lennon is now safe in Kilmainham, where there is a strong military guard. Faithfully yours, MAYO.’

S. 1886.—‘Lennon’s arrest on January 10 recalls Mayo’s escape from assassination the night before. I have a letter of his showing how a change of his usual habit saved him from the armed ruffian who was waiting for him. The arrest was clever. Two policemen told off for it

watched the street door. One knew Lennon, the other not. He came on his way to the spot where he had lain in ambush before, and was met by the latter, who looked so hard at him that he ran, and was just turning into a dark alley where he would probably have stood at bay, when he was seized by the former—a revolver put at his head, and he was driven off. He was heavily armed—so poor Mayo was protected then, to fall by the knife of a fanatic far away, but he had done good service in the meanwhile.'

On the same day Sir Henry Ponsonby writes by the Queen's orders :

'The Queen has desired me to inform the Naval Officer in command that he may greatly reduce his patrols and the number of men on the Coastguard, and that he is to act according to his judgment in increasing the precautions whenever he thinks it necessary. This is done with your knowledge and I will communicate these orders to Captain Bowyear.'

Even the spirits—lying spirits fortunately!—busied themselves with predictions of dangers to Her Majesty. Among the papers is preserved a curious letter from a respectable clergyman at Maida Hill, giving an account of a *séance* held by the celebrated medium Daniel Home, who saw in a trance the Queen shot at, and seriously, perhaps fatally wounded, at Paddington Station. I give the substance of the letter, which is endorsed 'Spiritualism!! Jan. 15. March 23.' It is impossible to doubt the bona fides of this absurd production. The writer had asked for an interview.

'Among the Spiritualists in London is a Mr. Daniel Home, who frequently is affected in a way similar to what in

Scotland is called Second Sight. It is a trance state, in which he becomes unconscious of all that is passing around him and describes what he sees, or supposes he sees. The accuracy of what he is informed of on these occasions, I have had a remarkable and convincing instance, in the detail to myself of a private matter which occurred to my family, more than 59 years ago—many years before he was born—some parts of which could only be known to the family, and he is an utter stranger to them all, moreover was born in America & never in this country till a few years ago. This person gave a warning in one of these trances of the assassination of President Lincoln 18 months before it happened. A. and B.' (the names are here given, but I suppress them as some still survive) 'were present at the seance on the 23rd of this month, when he went into this trance state, and mentioned two dates which he begged might be accurately put down—Jan. 15 & March 23. The person who took down his words did not take care to state exactly on which of these dates the events he described would take place. On one he declared that an attempt would be made to set fire to the Houses of Parliament, on the other that the Queen would be shot at the Paddington Station of the G. W. R. and seriously, perhaps fatally, wounded. Other horrors were described as seen by him, but I need not trouble you with them.

'Convinced as I am by actual experience that these trances and spirit manifestations are not delusions, I felt that I could not for my own sake conceal what I had heard. This man was right about President Lincoln; God forbid he should be right about our Queen!—but if he should prove to be a correct prophet, I should never forgive myself, if for fear of ridicule I remained silent.

'As a clergyman I was so often consulted on the

subject of this spiritualism that I determined to sift the matter to the bottom. In doing so I was astonished to find persons in the highest ranks of society, in high official position, as well as literary men, all attending these seances and believing in the reality of these manifestations—and after long & patient enquiry I felt satisfied that there was no delusion or imposture, but a veritable communication with the unseen world. A thing the possibility of wh. I could not doubt when I found, in more places than one, it was forbidden in the Bible. Believing it wrong, I have ceased to have any further connection with it, but remain firmly satisfied of the truth of my conclusion. I venture to add one thing more—it is to suggest that her Majesty's movements should be watched, and if by any chance it should appear that she expressed any intention to come to London on either of the days mentioned, precautions should be taken.

'P.S. I ought to add that in the trance the speaker is unconscious of the words he utters—nor, after it is over, does he remember what he has seen. It was impossible therefore to procure from him any information which could rectify the indistinctness of the writer's notes so as to decide on which of the dates the events described were to take place.'

By this time the better organisation of the police, and the capture or flight of the principal conspirators, had borne fruit, and there were no further serious outbreaks. On February 13 'the Queen rejoiced to hear so much better an account of the state of London.' The Prince and Princess of Wales were not deterred by threats of danger from visiting Dublin in State in April. On Easter Sunday my father notes an anonymous warning from Dublin:

'On which Liddell had acted properly. It would be absurd to "interfere with the arrangements for the Prince on such a ground."'

The visit, which did much good, is described in the following letter of Sir James Fergusson :

'*April 15.* Mayo told me that he was informing you today that all had gone well. Nothing could certainly have been more propitious than the weather, and all the circumstances . . . The arrangements, and the appearance of the Royal turnout, of the escort, and following, were perfect, and the easy drive of six miles to Dublin was through a constant line of spectators. Of course they increased to a crowd when Dublin was reached, and it became dense when near the Castle. The Prince himself thought his, or rather their, reception extremely cordial—and the officer commanding the escort, who usually can judge better than any one else, said that amidst great cheering he heard no hisses. This is not quite believed by Mayo, and other authorities, but in fact the appearance of the town and population indicates that they were received with great pleasure . . . The Princess both on landing in the road, and at the presentation, looked very pretty and happy, and there is no doubt that her coming is adding immensely to the success of the visit. She drove about the Park, and he, Prince Teck, and separate parties, rode in the afternoon. Perhaps you know the Park? it is certainly magnificent, and today the hills looking very close made a fine back ground. So far the Court newsman—and the Abercorns are admirable at the head of the Court.'

At this time the Prince of Wales was anxious not merely to visit Ireland, but to have a residence there.

D. May 2.—‘Yesterday had a long talk with the Duke of Cambridge who was very earnest on the subject of the injustice done to the Prince of Wales, and not without reason. He is very desirous to have a house in Ireland, and it ought to be provided.’

Her Majesty the Queen also made a public appearance in London on May 13 and was enthusiastically received. The attack upon the Duke of Edinburgh on April 25 in Australia had to some extent shaken even her iron nerve, and the trial and conviction of Barrett for the outrage at Clerkenwell made it an anxious time, but she did not shrink from what she regarded as a public duty. In his account of this ceremony, in 1886, my father notes how much the retirement, for which Her Majesty was so unjustly blamed at the time, was due to the state of her health, as was explained to him by Sir W. Jenner.

S. 1886.—‘The opening of St. Thomas’s hospital was a function in which I had to take a prominent part. The Queen had been uneasy in consequence of the attack upon the Duke of Edinburgh, but she was reassured by her loyal reception, and we took care that she should not incur risk. She was at this time in a nervous condition, and that was not generally known, so that more was expected from her than she could do, and the London tradesmen were ready for hostile meetings. The newspapers rather fanned the flame of discontent. Sir W. Jenner came to me to explain her physical condition, and gave me many interesting particulars. I remember he mentioned her declining salutes when going to Osborne after the Sultan’s visit to Windsor. This was attributed to some personal arrogance, the fact being, as he said, that firing would have brought on the sickness by which he found her prostrated when he arrived at Osborne.’

By the end of the half-year the correspondence ceases to have any bearing upon such questions as personal safety and irksome precautions, and Her Majesty writes directing the attention of the Home Secretary to the subject of cruelty to animals.

July 20, 1868.

‘The Queen cannot help directing Mr. Hardy’s attention to the article in the Daily Telegraph of to-day on the cruelty to Animals & to ask him to make enquiries on the subject.

‘Nothing brutalises people more than cruelty to dumb animals—& to dogs who are the companions of man—it is especially revolting. The Queen is sorry to say that she thinks the English are inclined to be more cruel to animals than some other civilised nations are.’

CHAPTER XIV

MR. DISRAELI PRIME MINISTER (1868)

EARLY in 1868 the long-anticipated blow of Lord Derby's resignation fell upon the Conservative party. The strain of the Reform Bill, with the separation from valued colleagues, had told upon his health and energy, and Lytton's well-known lines in 'The New Timon':

'Nor gout, nor toil, his freshness can destroy
And Time still leaves all Eton in the boy,'

could at length no longer be truthfully quoted of him. He had been obliged to absent himself from recent Cabinets, and at last made up his mind to abandon the gallant struggle against physical infirmity. He resigned the post of Prime Minister in February 1868, and Mr. Disraeli became his successor. On February 25 the New Premier sent Montague Corry, his private Secretary, to Gathorne Hardy with an offer of office, couched in flattering terms:

'MY DEAR HARDY

'The Queen has accepted the resignation of Lord Derby & has entrusted to me the formation of a new Government, wh. I hope & believe will not materially differ from the late one.

'I have not been able to write yet to my late colleagues, but I write to you; not only because I hope I may count on your assisting me in my great task, & because there is no one among my late colleagues whose services to

the Queen at this moment I wish more to engage, but because I have some difficulty in a matter of urgency tho' of a different character, respecting wh: M. Corry will invoke your aid.

'Yours ever,

'D.'

The offer was accepted, subject to one condition, upon which Corry gave satisfactory assurances. That condition, and the nature of the matter of urgency on which aid was required, appear in the Diary:

D. February 25.—'I little thought as I read for the Irish debate, and rode in the delicious spring air, what a day was to bring forth. About a quarter to one, Corry came to me with a letter from Disraeli offering me office under him, as Lord Derby had resigned. I was taken aback, but spoke favourably in case Cairns were in the Government, and agreed to receive a great deputation of the National Union of Working Men's Associations for Disraeli. I fancy there will be no great changes, except the painful but necessary one of Chancellor. That I have it under Cairns's hand that he has accepted, which makes all easy for me. D.'s note to me is flattering, and if the Government is on the same basis I do not see how one could refuse assistance. Still without Cairns I had great doubts, because I saw the weakness in the Lords.'

Lord Cairns, as he anticipated, proved to be a tower of strength, and his acceptance of office was especially welcomed by Hardy, as they had been close friends from childhood. At the first meeting of the new Cabinet he notes:

D. March 3.—'The worth of Cairns became manifest

as Irish questions were under discussion. There is not a good look-out for the Irish Church with some of our friends, but the Cabinet as a whole is true.'

But both he and the new Chancellor were much vexed at the manner in which the change was effected, and the slight unnecessarily cast upon Lord Chelmsford, who resented the manner of his removal and complained that he did not receive as much notice as a housemaid.

D. February 28.—'I am afraid Lord Chelmsford has been roughly used, as I hear he is extremely sore and angry. Indeed Cairns, whom I found riding with Edith yesterday evening, was much annoyed at the mode in which his predecessor had been treated. What is the use of making enemies?'

Lord Chelmsford felt so strongly on the subject of his treatment that he wrote to Hardy to ask whether Disraeli was coming before he would keep a dinner engagement with him on March 6, as he did not wish to meet the new Prime Minister. It was the manner, not the fact, of his supersession which gave him such offence; and Mr. Disraeli did not count among his great gifts that of being able always to combine the *suaviter in modo* with the *fortiter in re*. The ex-Chancellor always remained on the best of terms with his successor; and his son, Mr. Edward Thesiger, now Clerk Assistant at the table in the House of Lords, continued to hold the office of Patronage Secretary under the new Chancellor, and gave him the benefit of his valuable assistance in the difficult and invidious task of sifting the claims of applicants to vacant benefices.

Mr. Disraeli's accession to the office of Prime Minister was not so much a change as the recognition of an accomplished fact. There were few changes in the Cabinet; one minor promotion introduced to official life one destined to

take a great and commanding position, Sir Michael Hicks Beach, now Viscount St. Aldwyn, and I believe the only surviving member of that administration. He did not accept office without some hesitation.

D. March 15.—‘Bright made a great speech, but I was unfortunate in being called out to bring Hicks Beach to the acceptance of office, in which I succeeded, not without difficulty.’

Sir Michael became Secretary to the Poor Law Board, and on the earliest opportunity was promoted to the Under-Secretaryship at the Home Office. In the Summary written in 1889 Hardy calls his colleague ‘A man of mark whom all parties respect.’ ‘I often,’ he adds, ‘urged younger men to come forward, and can look on many who have done well.’ But if the change of personnel was small, Gathorne Hardy always believed that the change of Prime Ministers exercised an important influence on the leader of the Opposition, and was a potent cause of his bringing to the front that question of the Irish Church, upon which he himself took so prominent a part. In Lord Morley’s ‘Life of Gladstone’—a work for which my father had so great an admiration that he gave directions in his will that the copy presented to him by the author should be preserved as an heirloom, together with the Queen’s gracious gifts—there is a curious chapter, in which Mr. Gladstone describes, not perhaps altogether clearly, the influences which induced him to press the question at the time. On the merits, as he says, he had long been convinced, but in 1865 he had voted against a Radical member who had moved that the question called for the early attention of the Government; and in 1866, when leader of the House, had agreed with Lord Russell in meeting a motion against the Irish Church with a direct negative. In the summer of 1865, in view of the Oxford election, he wrote his famous letter to the Warden of Glenalmond, Doctor Hannah, in which he used the

expression : 'The question of the Irish Establishment is remote and apparently out of all bearing upon the practical politics of the day,' a letter which he did not at first appear to remember when Gathorne Hardy quoted it in perhaps the greatest and most telling of his speeches. But as he wrote to Lord Granville in 1868 'I was watching the sky with the obligation to act at the first streak of dawn.' 'He now believed,' says Mr. Morley, 'that the full sun was up.' Gathorne Hardy's more prosaic version is (S.) that 'Gladstone's teeth were set on edge, and he prepared to bite.' It is difficult to believe that if Lord Derby had continued in office (the Stanley whose accession to the House of Lords 'changed the whole face of English politics') the question so recently neglected by his own Government would not have been allowed to slumber till the close of a moribund Parliament and administration. Hardy records that the question was said at the time to have been suggested by Lord Halifax as a rallying-cry for the Liberal party. But whatever was the cause, Disraeli's great rival acted rapidly. The new Premier had not occupied his high position three weeks, when, on March 16, on the occasion of a motion by a private Irish member, Mr. Maguire, for an inquiry into the state of Ireland, he threw down the gauntlet.

D. March 17.—'The debate is over, and Gladstone has pronounced for the extinction of the Irish Church. His speech in parts was extravagantly violent. Disraeli replied skilfully and with much humour in parts. We are to have a testing motion on the Church, and must wait to see the enemy's tactics disclosed.'

The campaign once commenced was carried on, as Lord Morley boasts, 'with military promptitude.' Hardy was under no delusions as to the probable result to the Government.

D. March 19.—‘It is said that notice of motion on the Irish Church is to be given to-night. Our fate may not be decided by it, but a first step will be taken.’

D. March 20.—‘Notice of a Resolution, but evidently there is not agreement yet. Gladstone was quite in agitation when he announced it. To-morrow, or next day, we are to have particulars.’

Notice was duly given of three Resolutions, that the established Church of Ireland should cease to exist as an establishment. Whig and Radical were once more united; the cave of Adullam and the tea room sent out their occupants as an allied force; while the supporters of the Government were by no means so unanimous either as to principle or methods. A Cabinet on March 27 agreed to support an amendment, to be moved by Lord Stanley. This amendment was merely a dilatory one, ‘that while admitting that modifications of temporalities might be expedient, any proposition tending to disestablishment and disendowment ought to be reserved for the decision of a new Parliament.’ My father’s comment upon it was ‘I would it were stronger, but it is a wide net.’ The champion was ill chosen; on Church questions he was known to be half-hearted, and it is difficult to conjecture why the defence of an institution for which he had no love was left in his hands. If the intention was to catch votes it was an error of tactics. Enthusiasm is needed to rally supporters and conviction alone can arouse it.

March 30, on which the first resolution was moved, was a disastrous day for the Government. My father’s comments in 1889 are even stronger than the contemporary entry. Both are given below.

S.—‘Our champion was Stanley!! Anything so disheartening as his speech never was heard. The cry of a

whipped hound! The party was dismayed and Cranborne's taunts were felt because deserved.'

D. April 1.—'On Monday began the Irish debate, and Gladstone made clear his intention to overthrow, and disendow, with slight exceptions, the Church in Ireland. I came home disgusted to dine, and when I went back found all the symptoms of disorganisation, aggravated by an attack from Cranborne, sneering as regards us all; venomous and remorseless against Disraeli. Mayo talked it over with me; and he then went to Disraeli, who begged me to move the adjournment. I undertook to do so on condition I spoke my mind freely. I was unprepared, for I had intended to wait until nearer the end, as I had a busy time yesterday. I had a great audience; and, if the enthusiasm of friends and the compliments of foes go for anything, was successful. Our party seemed to rally again, and the cheers at the end were vehement and lasting.'

Perhaps I may here intrude my own recollection of this memorable occasion. It was the first time I heard my father address the House of Commons. He brought me down with him to find every place crammed, but Mr. Alfred Denison, then Secretary to his brother the Speaker, insisted on my admission under the Gallery. Since then I have spent a good many years in the House of Commons, but never have I seen such a scene of excitement as I witnessed that evening. The strong upright form, the kindling eye, the mobile lip, I can see them now; the clear voice, the rapid utterance, the deep earnestness of tone, still ring in my ears. The trumpet gave no uncertain sound, and the hosts prepared themselves for battle. Forlorn hope it might be, but under such a leader, honour at least was safe. I may be considered a partial witness, so I will here insert the tribute of the veteran retired Premier, and of the

new Chancellor. They are only samples of a great number of letters received from all quarters.

From Lord Derby, April 1.

‘MY DEAR HARDY

‘I cannot deny myself the pleasure of congratulating you on your magnificent speech of last night, which I am glad, though not surprised, to hear has quite removed the depression which prevailed among our friends after the first night’s debate; I do not at all find fault with the course pursued by the Cabinet in meeting Gladstone’s motion by an amendment, instead of a direct negative: though I did not conceal from Disraeli my opinion that it would have been better had it been confined to the last portion without the admission which preceded it. No doubt it was, and might naturally have been, hoped that such an amendment would give us a better chance on a division; though that does not appear to have been the case, while it may have lost us some of our own supporters. Your speech however has placed the question with great force and ability on the footing upon which I, for one, should wish to see it argued, if ever it comes to practical legislation; and will, I hope, have been successful in rallying and encouraging the party. . . .

‘Once more let me thank you for your noble effort.’

From Lord Cairns, April 1.

‘MY DEAR HARDY

‘I feel much more comfortable this morning than I have done for many days past, and I attribute it entirely to your magnificent speech last night. At any time, and on any subject, it would have been to me a source of unqualified pleasure that you should have achieved such a splendid

success; but it is a double gratification when I feel that by what you have done you have put so firmly and wisely before the House and country the only policy which, in the beginning of what will be a long struggle for the whole Establishment, we, as members of a Conservative Party, can care to maintain or fight for.

‘Stanley’s speech was colourless and chilling, but I was prepared for this. Cranborne’s ardour for the Irish Church has remained dormant until he found he could use it as a means of expressing his hatred to D. But come what may *you* have put it on a right and true position, and I heartily thank you for it.

‘Northcote writes me a private suggestion that D. should propose an amendment to G.’s first resolution.

‘1st. That the House should know how any surplus is to be applied.

‘2nd. That Church funds should not be applied to any secular purpose.

‘I own I cannot agree to this. If we have to go into Committee I think a negative is the only way to meet the 1st resolution.

‘Yours ever sincerely,

‘CAIRNS.’

The answer to Lord Cranborne’s attack, from which I will quote, was an effective point in the speech :

‘On our flank we have been assailed with incredible hostility. I will for a moment speak on the subject of the Ministry that is attacked, and if I am permitted, of myself who have been personally assailed. I feel that it is one of the highest honours that I have ever achieved to have sate in the same Cabinet with my noble friend (Lord Cranborne). No one valued more the resources of the genius, eloquence,

and power, which he brought to the Ministry of which he formed a part, and I acted with him with cordiality and sincerity in all the transactions of the Government. The noble Lord, in the position he has assumed in this House, that of speaking as the censor of the Ministry, and attacking them for the course they thought proper to pursue last year, has forgotten, I think, how far he proceeded himself in the path they followed. He has apparently forgotten that the course he eventually took was not taken on account of the lowering of the franchise to the point to which it was lowered, but on account of the want, as he thought, of sufficient checks to moderate and balance that enfranchisement and that we, entertaining the same view that he himself held, were defeated on it, not merely by those that sit opposite, but by the overwhelming feeling of gentlemen that sat behind the Government. I do not mean to say that the Reform Bill of last year is in everything such as I could have wished for, if I could have entirely controlled it; but I should like to know where is the man who sitting, I will not say in the Cabinet, but in any assembly whatever, has not been compelled in some respects to compromise his own opinions, and give way to the feelings of those with whom he sits, in order that they may all act together with uniformity and unity. That I consider is all I have done. I have sacrificed no principle. (Oh! Oh!) I say I have sacrificed no principle. I consider that the question of Reform brought before the House was a question not of principle but of degree. We had been parties to lowering the franchise. We had assented to the second reading of the Bill introduced in 1860 from the other side of the House, which affected that lowering to a great extent; and we had assented to the lowering of the franchise in the Bill of 1866: and I say that it became

evident, not on account of disturbance out of doors, but on account of the Parliamentary attitude that the question had assumed, that it became absolutely necessary to deal with, and if possible settle it. I say it was a question of degree and not of principle. I should not have said a word about myself if my noble friend had not brought my name forward somewhat unnecessarily. In fact my noble friend took especial pains as it appeared to me to compliment my sincerity at the expense of my pliability. But I trust that as concerns principle, I shall be found as ready to maintain those principles in which we both agree, as he himself has been.'

I quote this passage because it contains an Apologia with reference to the Reform Bill, as well as a reply to Lord Cranborne. Reading it over, it occurs to me as an old member of the House of Commons that the Speaker allowed considerable latitude to both antagonists in a debate in which the Irish Church was the question at issue. This was Lord Cranborne's last appearance in the House of Commons.

D. April 13.—'Lord Salisbury's death announced. What a change for Cranborne! Will it make political changes hereafter?'

S. 1885.—'They [the changes] have been many and singular. Who could foresee the close union of Disraeli and his denouncer?'

Lord Derby, also, to whom he was deeply attached, was soon to pass from the scene on which he had played so great a part. He had called on and sat with him on March 28 and found him 'cheerful and pleasant, but very weak and unable to move about.' On June 18, 1869, he went to hear him in the House of Lords, when the veteran made his final effort

in the debate on Mr. Gladstone's Irish Church Bill. He writes: 'The physical force is gone, and the speech was not effective except its affecting peroration.'

I quote this peroration: 'My Lords, I am an old man, and, like many of your Lordships, have passed the three score years and ten. My official life is entirely closed, my political life is nearly so, and in the course of nature my natural life cannot be long. That natural life commenced with the bloody suppression of a formidable rebellion, which immediately preceded the union between the two countries; and may God grant that its close may not witness the dissolution of the one, and the renewal of the other! I do not pretend to be able to penetrate the veil which hides from mortal vision the events of the future, but whatever may be the issue of this great controversy, whatever may be the result of your Lordships' present deliberations, I say for my own part, even if it should be the last time that I have the honour of addressing you, that it will be to my dying day a satisfaction that I have been able to lift up my voice against a measure of which I believe that the political folly is only equalled by the moral injustice.'

As I am departing here from strict chronological order, I may record on Lord Cairns's authority that Lord Derby was quite satisfied at the compromise finally agreed to by that statesman, though 'at first startled and annoyed.' It is worth while to mention this, as Lord Halifax is quoted in Lord Morley's book as saying: 'Derby's conduct proves what difficulty there would have been if Cairns had not taken upon himself the responsibility of acting as he did.' Lord Derby died on October 23 of the same year, and Hardy valued the kind note he received from his successor conveying his old Chief's feeling towards him.

'KNOWSLEY, Oct. 29.

'Your kind note of yesterday finds us preparing for the melancholy ceremony of this morning, but I cannot delay

thanking you for it. You were one of the colleagues and friends on whom my father most relied, and I well recollect the feelings of admiration and pleasure which your speeches in defence of the Irish Church drew from him.

‘All the world from the Queen downwards has been most friendly and sympathetic with us in our trouble.

‘Though 21 years in the House of Commons is a long spell, and though late hours and lengthy speeches were never much to my taste, I shall leave with regret a place in which so large a part of my life has been passed. There will no longer be the “two chairs” always reserved at “Lord Lennox’s table,” and the library will lose one of its few frequenters. But I hope to hear you fighting the battles of next year, though I shall be a hearer only.’

To return to 1868 and the Irish Church Resolutions, Lord Stanley’s amendment was defeated by a majority of 60, and the first Resolution carried by 65. Under ordinary circumstances the immediate resignation of the Government, or dissolution, must have followed, but, as the Reform measure was not completed, the Irish and Scotch Bills being still before the House, either course would have caused great inconvenience. The Diary throws much light upon the somewhat obscure history of this crisis, as to which Lord Morley writes as follows (‘Life of Gladstone,’ vol. ii. p. 248) :

‘In this crisis he (Disraeli) pursued a peculiar course. He advised the Queen to dissolve the Parliament, but at the same time he told Her Majesty that, if she thought the interests of the country would be better served, he tendered his resignation. The Queen did not accept it, he said; and the Ministerial decision was to dissolve in the autumn when the new constituencies would be in order. The statement was not clear, and Mr. Gladstone sought in vain to discover whether the

Prime Minister had begun by resigning, or had presented two alternatives leaving the decision to the Queen; and did he mean a dissolution on existing registers? The answer to these questions was not definite, but it did "not matter."

As will be seen, Gathorne Hardy was very doubtful as to the right course to pursue, and it is plain enough that he would have welcomed a speedier release from the position occupied by the Government; however, on reconsideration of the whole position in 1889, he expresses his opinion that the attitude adopted was right and inevitable.

S.—'It is not easy to abbreviate the history of our miserable session in 1868, but it was humiliating to be the butt of the mean and envious, and to be over-ruled as we were. Looking back, I doubt if we could have done otherwise than we did. Disraeli challenged a vote of censure which Gladstone would not move.'

To return to the fountain head, which gives the working of his mind and that of the principal actors in the drama at the time itself:

D. April 4, 1868.—'A very large majority against us, and in my opinion a failure on our part. Disraeli did not rise to the occasion, was obscure, flippant, and imprudent. I do not like my position at all, and I am sure we shall be involved in inextricable difficulties. The Opposition has tasted blood, and will bully and endeavour to control us, so as to place us in minorities constantly, and impede any legislation in our own sense. If Stanley would but strike and break us up it would be for the best; things go from bad to worse, while we are powerless where we are to put on the drag. I was not at home till a quarter past three.'

He went to Windsor by command on the following day

and dined with Her Majesty on April 5 and 6. I am permitted to give the record of the interview from the Diary and a letter to Mr. Disraeli. All know how leading and statesmanlike a part Her Majesty took in the settlement of the question of the Irish Church in spite of her personal predilections.

D. April 7.—‘Went down to Windsor at 6.15, and being seen by Prince Arthur on arrival he insisted on my driving up in his carriage. Dined with the Queen, who is very gracious and very anti-Gladstonian. Sunday at the 10 and 12 o’clock services, at the latter of which the Dean of Cork preached, and well. Then a long interview with Her Majesty in which she went fully into her Protestant views, which are broad. She had Stanley on Church and State in her hand, and praised it greatly. She is clearly alarmed at what is going on, and at dinner spoke to me strongly about her Coronation Oath. Scotch Protestantism suits her evidently. She said the Dean of Windsor always told her our Reformation stopped short. I said that it afforded room for very strong Protestants. She said both extremes were distasteful to her, High and Low. The latter so very narrow-minded.’

Hardy to Disraeli, April 5.

‘I have been much struck by the dread which the Queen expresses of Gladstone and his scheme. The Coronation Oath weighs upon her mind. She thinks that she should be relieved of it legislatively with her own consent, before being called upon to agree to the destruction of the Church of Ireland. Her feelings are, not in the ordinary sense, but in a sufficiently strong one, intensely Protestant. The Dean of Cork has been preaching here, and I had some talk with him this evening. He thinks the Irish Prelates and Clergy would be prepared to offer

some sort of compromise, but is not very clear about the kind or degree. Besides the Laity would have to be consulted, and I know of no representative man among them.

'The Queen is, as you say, extraordinarily friendly and anxious not to have a change. General Grey seems to fancy there will not be much effort to effect one, but he relies on Lord Halifax.'

Disraeli replies on the 8th: 'I was very much obliged to you for your letter from Windsor wh: as you rightly anticipated was a harbinger of what awaited me there.'

Disraeli writes again on April 23 an interesting confidential letter giving his views of what was going on behind the scenes:

Disraeli to G. H.

'Since we parted I have received some information on the present state of affairs on which you may rely. Gladstone, instead of wishing to upset us, has no Cabinet ready, & tho' sanguine as to his future, is at present greatly embarrassed. He wishes to build us a golden bridge, and if we announce a bona fide attempt to wind up, he would support Bills to extend the time of registration, which would be necessitated by the passing of the Scotch and Irish Bills. Nor is it at all supposed, or even wished that Baxter's motion should be carried, wh: now that the Irish Church has been run so successfully, is no longer a cheval de bataille. If a strong representation is made that the House of Lords assented to the great measure of last year on the ground that from the largeness of its provisions it was necessarily of a permanent nature, it is anticipated that the Government measure would in its main provisions pass.

I must tell you that Bright and Ayrton do not agree with Gladstone in his views and are all for violent and instant action.

‘ . . . the Commercial Liberals look with the greatest alarm to Lord Russell’s return to the F.O. or even that of Lord Clarendon. They think the peace of Europe depends upon Stanley’s remaining. I am assured that there never was a moment in which a want of confidence vote had a worse chance, and that all the intentions of humiliating the Government are quite superficial. My informant says they will disappear before a firm announcement of our intention to wind up, & that any attempt to precipitate the dissolution would be quite unnecessary, and perhaps unpopular in the House itself. On the general accuracy of this information you may rely. We can talk it over when we meet.

‘ Yrs ever,

‘ D.

‘ I enclose G.’s letter ’ (this was apparently a letter from Mr. Gladstone to Hardy in which he acknowledges the receipt of a copy of the letter to Dr. Hannah quoted in his speech). ‘ He has had his fingers rapped, and won’t stir again—I am inclined to be quiet at present.’

The final division on the first Resolution was taken on the last day of April, ‘a fatal division; 65 majority against us.’

D. May 3.—‘ Conversation with many colleagues on our position yesterday. Duke of Richmond, Stanley, Malmesbury, came to see me. Cairns I met at the Academy dinner. Disraeli has communicated with none of us, which is strange. He was back in time for, but did not attend, the dinner, so Cairns was called on for the Government. I do not see

my way very clearly, nor do my colleagues, but I doubt if resignation will not prove our only course. Dissolution with present constituencies will not be assented to by all members of the Cabinet, and we cannot live through a session baited and overpowered, for a dissolution next year. If we met Parliament again I foresee we should not be agreed on the Irish Church question. I cannot but think our reign draws to a close, and cannot personally regret it.'

Lord Cairns, writing the same evening, gives the effect of an interview with Disraeli :

Lord Cairns to Hardy.

'Confidential.

'May 3, 68.

'DEAR HARDY

'I saw D. to-day, I hope you did also.

'I am very glad he put the matter right as to resignation. I was afraid (the matter not having been distinctly mentioned) he might not have done so.

'His view as to dissolution on the present constituencies also seems firm and right.

'I suppose that we must try to carry on. The consequences of giving up, unless we find the H. of C. absolutely impracticable, would be serious if not disastrous. Much will depend on D.'s statement to-morrow, and how it is taken.

'Yours ever,

'CAIRNS.'

His interview with Disraeli did not take place till late on the evening of the same Sunday, May 3. As will be seen, he did not altogether agree with the course suggested by his Chief.

Disraeli to Hardy, May 3.

‘MY DEAR HARDY

‘Could you call on me to-day: I wish very much to see you and will stay at home.

‘Yrs ever,

‘D.’

D. May 4.—‘The Chancellor came to me after Church, and we had much talk. His notion that we should undertake to advise that the Queen should do nothing in connection with the Irish Church until a new Parliament was tested seems to me to throw over the House of Lords, and make the Commons Parliament. He appears clear against consulting the present constituencies, and yet can we survive to refer to the new? My impression is that the question is between that and resignation. On coming in at near 7, I found a note from Disraeli and went straight to see him. Cairns had been with him, but whether they agreed he did not say. He told me all that had passed with the Queen, and that she had desired to have his statement in writing, to which she had replied in writing, and he read me the letter. It declined our resignation, and authorised dissolution. Of course she wishes us, if possible, to wait for the new electors. I did not pronounce, but told him that in my opinion the House would not allow us to do so, on which I think he differed with me. My impression is that some of the Cabinet will not wait, and some will be entirely adverse to a dissolution now. Disraeli’s proposal is to divide no more on the Resolutions, which are preliminary to a Bill, and allow it to be brought in with the Queen’s sanction, as tentative. If it does not (as it would not) pass the Legislature, treat it as

null and wind up as rapidly as possible, with the intention of preparing for the new constituencies.

‘Will they permit a Government in a minority on such a vital question to hold the reins till 1869? I doubt it, and doubt whether they ought. One comfort is that personally I look forward to retirement with more than equanimity.’

D. May 5.—‘Yesterday was an eventful day. Walked to the Cabinet with the Duke of Richmond, whom I found in perfect accordance with myself, and indeed he told me afterwards that whatever I did he would do. We had much discussion, Duke of Marlborough clearly hardly liking another step, as perhaps none of us did. It was resolved to oppose Gladstone’s motion to take the order of business into his own hands, and I was in hopes that we might have forced a division on it, but Disraeli’s tone gave him a ready excuse for dropping it. Disraeli’s speech opened our course, but not quite as I had hoped. He gave the impression that he had only a dissolution after the new constituencies were formed, and had to correct this. We had a desultory fire from Gladstone, Lowe, Bright, and Bouverie, plenty of unpleasant language. D. appeared to think, however, as he has before said, that Gladstone cannot rally his forces for a vote of want of confidence, to which he challenged him. I was glad of that; in our trouble we shall have to watch every move so as not to be committed to any course unadvisedly. I was kept at the House, where I dined.’

D. May 6.—‘Last night Gladstone, in a white heat, attacked again, and was followed by Horsman, Cardwell, Lowe, Bouverie, &c. No independent members spoke except Sandford and Liddell, who were nasty and unreasonable. The groundwork was the Duke of Richmond’s statement of our powers of dissolution, which was true but carelessly expressed. He is coming to see me about it

directly. I foresee nothing but trouble, and wish heartily our resignation had been real and effective. A Cabinet before Osborne would have altered everything, but now ? ’

D. May 7. — ‘The Dukes of Richmond and Marlborough at different times came to me. We none of us like our position, but at present there is not a way out.’

D. May 8. — ‘At a Council yesterday at 12. After which the Duke of Marlborough came to me to ask if he might properly accept the Garter. I said Yes, or else he would have to give reasons equivalent to resignation.’

The same day brought the following letter from Disraeli, in which he speaks of his correspondent as ‘his sword-arm.’

‘How about your going to Osborne to-morrow? What hour? The meeting of the Cabinet must be arranged accordingly.

‘It will not do, on so important an occasion, that you, who are my sword-arm, should be absent, or hurried.

‘I wish you, and the Lord Chancellor, and myself, could have conferred together about the “answer” before the Cabinet, but I suppose it is impossible.

‘I shall be at Downing Street at half past 2, and if you be there and disengaged should be glad to see you.’

The meeting duly took place.

D. Saturday, May 11. — ‘Met Disraeli and the Chancellor at one o’clock, and settled a form of reply to the H. of C. address, which has, however, since the Cabinet, which approved, been altered for the better in some respects.’

The Session wore to an end, though not without difficulties and humiliations. The Reform Bill was completed by the passing of the Scotch and Irish portions. Mr. Gladstone carried his Suspensory Bill, which, as had been

anticipated, was rejected by the House of Lords by a majority of ninety-five. The correspondence shows how anxious the Government were to terminate the provisional state of things. On May 30 Lord Cairns writes :

'I am very anxious as to the course the Government takes touching the Dissolution. A hurried Dissolution may be unpopular, but I am satisfied that the Government should do the very utmost that can be done to expedite it, leaving any delay to come from other quarters. I greatly fear any suspicion arising that we are not bona fide trying to terminate the present state of things. I sometimes think that a solution might be for the Government to bring in a Bill to fix the dates at the very earliest points which can be taken and then refer this Bill to a select Committee, leaving the Committee to enlarge the period if thought desirable. The delay would thus be the act of the House.'

He writes again on June 7 :

'I am entirely and strongly for the 7th December if it is possible, or even if it can be made to look possible. I hold that our honour is deeply concerned to make the proposition and leave the House to consider whether they will have the earlier day, with its inconveniences, or a day after the Christmas vacation, say 10th January, with its advantages.'

My father was entirely in accord with the Chancellor, and by the most strenuous efforts it was found possible to fix an earlier date for dissolution than the most sanguine had anticipated. Parliament was prorogued on the 31st of July and the dissolution followed on November 11. On August 30 he paid his first visit to Hughenden, where the Cairnses were his fellow guests.

D.—'Lambert and Helps were my companions, with Monty Corry. I enjoyed my evening, and was pleased with what little I saw of the place in the morning.'

He was asked for 'as long as he could stay,' but he was pining to get home to his own house and family from which he had been so much separated during the Fenian troubles.

He paid a round of visits in Scotland in the beginning of December and received the draft of Disraeli's address at Ochtertyre, where he was visiting with his old and valued friend, Sir David Dundas, the ex-Solicitor-General and Judge Advocate, who had recently retired from Parliament.

D. September 25.—'Disraeli's proposed address came to me here. It is not what I should have written, but the substance I agree in, and suggested some small alterations in terms.'

Hardy to Disraeli, September 24.

'Corry has sent me the draft of your address. In substance I quite agree, but perhaps you will forgive my noticing that there is no promise. I think something might be expressed of the hope that time may be given for legal and social measures of improvement so long laid aside. Will not the wording of the paragraph on foreign affairs rouse much controversy? The paragraph on Fenianism is, I think, a little complicated in terms [some clerical criticism].

'I have ventured to note these few points, though I have no right to criticise the language of a master. I do not know that I should express myself quite so strongly on the supremacy, valuable as it is. More could be said in conference, but I do not know that I have much more to comment on.'

He visited Fasque, the seat of Sir Thomas Gladstone, in politics the antipodes of his brother, and from thence went to Balmoral, walking over the hill from Ballater.

D. October 1, Balmoral.—'It is not often that a birthday comes round without a word from wife or child, but I

know they were anxious to greet me with loving wishes, and it is not their fault if they have failed.'

D. October 2.—'Dined with the Queen, who was very chatty. She condoled with a smile with her sister Queen who, we learn by telegram, has left Spain, but showed only a queenly sympathy, not very deep. She pitied, while she condemned on the ground of early ill-teaching and ill-usage, a foolish bad husband, &c.'

His birthday comment on the past year is of special interest when it is remembered what he had gone through in the way of labour and anxiety.

D.—'Nothing but blessings to recount in the past year. Looking forward, in private life I see nothing but happiness in my home, but must expect clouds.

'In politics I see darkly. Even with a majority what is to be done? Without—and a large minority, I could more plainly see my course.'

He had a pleasant visit at Balmoral; a deer drive with Prince Arthur and Prince Christian.

D.—'Deer were plenty and my chance came at last, and my only shot got the only stag brought home. This was satisfactory and repaid me for the long wait.'

D. October 7.—'Yesterday was spent very quietly, two solitary walks. In the evening the Tecks arrived amid the blaze of torches, wild reels and dances, and shrill outcries—a strange scene.'

He left for London on Monday the 12th. 'Possibly my last box from Balmoral' is his prophecy, but he sent off many more in later years. The Queen on his departure sent him 'a pleasant note, with engravings and photographs,' which he greatly valued.

While at Balmoral he received the news of the retirement of Sir William Heathcote from the representation of Oxford University.

D. October 7.—‘I am very sorry, but he is right, as he has been nearly dead. What will come of it? Hunt is for letting in Palmer. Mowbray seems to expect a summons. *Nous verrons.*’

Sir Roundell Palmer was selected as the Liberal, and Mr. Mowbray as the Conservative, candidate in the place of the retiring Member. Hardy owed a debt of gratitude to the latter for the very active part he had played in his own election. It soon became evident that, even against such an exceptional candidate as the future Lord Selborne, the Conservative candidate was safe. Sir Roundell Palmer withdrew from the hopeless contest.

D. November 10.—‘The *Times* informed me of Palmer’s withdrawal from Oxford. Many letters awaited me with the news. Mowbray had reached 2000 promises, many plumpers for me, also many splits with Palmer. He could hardly have had above 1200. It shews that the Liberals, even with such a candidate, have no chance whatever.’

Mowbray, afterwards Sir John, was duly elected, and maintained his position as Member for the University till he died at a good old age, Father of the House of Commons, and one of the most respected of unofficial members. But the elections as a whole were unfavourable, especially in the boroughs, and there was a majority of 112 for the Liberals. The end of the ‘Ministry of Caretakers’ had come, and the only question was whether Mr. Disraeli’s Government should resign at once, or wait to receive their dismissal from the new House of Commons. The choice was not so simple as it has since become. There was at the time no precedent for anticipating the action of the House of

Commons, but the Cabinet decided upon immediate resignation, and the precedent thus established has been followed on many subsequent occasions.

D. December 3.—‘Disraeli was at Windsor on Tuesday, and we hold office only until our successors are appointed, Gladstone, of course, being sent for. D. reported H.M.’s gracious expressions about us all, complimented us, and I said a few words of return compliment to him. Never was a Cabinet more unanimous in opinion and action than his has been. To-day all will be out, including the circular to the party, and then will come the comments; free and sharp enough no doubt. I think our course is right for many reasons. Found all here (Hemsted) very happy at the prospect of my release.’

Although the course of immediate resignation was not finally decided upon until the Cabinet of November 28, Her Majesty after the elections could see that the Government was doomed. The Home Secretary was summoned to dine at Windsor on November 24.

D. November 24.—‘The Queen talked of the Elections; she would clearly like what I had talked over with Stanley and Cairns—resignation without a struggle. There are difficulties, but it would be wise if possible.’

D. November 25.—‘Just had a long interview with the Queen which ended by her saying “Well, Mr. Hardy, we shall all be sorry to part with you and glad to see you again. I shall feel parting with you.” Dined with the Queen. After dinner the Queen was unusually confidential, and kind, told me much of Disraeli, and sent me his letters, the effect of which will soon be in the *Gazette* for a nine days’ wonder.¹ He has the merit of devotion to his wife, and her honours must at her age be shortlived.’

¹ This refers to the Peerage for Mrs. Disraeli.

Saturday, November 28, had been fixed by my father for a visit to Oxford to return thanks for his election. He was pressed by Mr. Disraeli to attend the Cabinet, and of course did so. I give Disraeli's urgent summons, as it throws some light on the course of events.

From Disraeli, November 26.

'Every member of the Cabinet ought to be present on Saturday, the question before it being what course we should take in consequence of the result of the General Election.

'There is a feeling among some of our colleagues, and those not the least influential, that after all that was said on the subject by several members of the Government, we ought not to remain in our places and meet Parliament as a Ministry.

'I am myself not disinclined to adopt this course, which so far as our Parliamentary position is concerned has many advantages; on the other hand, unless such a course is timed with some proceeding which leaves no doubt in the minds of our friends in Parliament and the Country, of our determination to stand by our policy of disestablishment,¹ the disastrous effects of such a course may be considerable.

'But what shall that proceeding be? What form shall it take? Is it possible that it can take any form?

'You see at once what grave issues are at stake on Saturday, and I do not think that one of the principal members of the Cabinet should be absent.

'I send this by special messenger so that you should have more time to modify your arrangements at Oxford

¹ So written, but obviously a slip of the pen. A glance at the speeches of Gathorne Hardy and his leader will show that their policy was not 'one of disestablishment.'

provided on reflection you think that you ought to be present in Downing St.'

D. November 29.—' I was summoned to the Cabinet, and so lost a day for my round, and must work hard on Monday. We were unanimous in our view of what should be done, and shall act upon it next week. Disraeli was going down to stay at Windsor, and would of course pave the way. The "Viscountess" (Mrs. Disraeli's advancement to the title of Viscountess Beaconsfield) came out in the *Post* on Friday, and on the whole has been well received. Much use my keeping silence proved. It will be strange to have an end of our curiously maintained position, but it will be right and comforting.'

D. December 5.—' The papers are, on the whole, very favourable to the course which we have adopted, more so than I thought probable.'

D. December 8.—' A telegram to warn me of the Council to-morrow at which I give up the Seals. So will end my present, probably my life-long, official career. 53 to 7 in Scotland makes a rally in the United Kingdom very difficult.'

D. December 11.—' We were a merry chatty party to and from Windsor, and it is clear that our course of action has met with universal approval. It is amusing to see that Disraeli gets all the credit of it. Whereas I believe Stanley first suggested it, and Cairns and I backed him when he communicated with us. Before going in to the Queen the Crown Princess saw us all separately and then the Princess Louise. The former said "The Queen is so sorry to lose you, Mr. Hardy"; the Princess Louise expressed her own regrets. The Queen was quite earnest in her manner as she took the Seals from me, and said "I take them,"

Mr. Hardy, with the utmost regret." She then shook hands warmly with me, I stooping to kiss her hand and expressing the gratitude and pride which I should always feel for the gracious way in which she had always treated me.'

D. 'So ends my career as Home Secretary. I have been very happy in the place and never in the most trying times have been uneasy or disturbed. Many mistakes I have made, no doubt, but there has been, I hope, an undivided will to do right.'

So ended the Disraeli Ministry. Three years of Cabinet office had raised Gathorne Hardy to a position in the party second only to that of his leader. His Diary shows that he had continued to hold office only from a sense of duty, and he welcomed his release as a schoolboy does the holidays. The year ended happily at his home in Kent, where a merry party spent Christmas together, all the more joyfully because the year before the family had for once been divided, its head being detained in London by his responsible and dangerous duties.

CHAPTER XV

OPPOSITION (1869—1872)

THE year 1869 commenced happily. Gathorne Hardy had been taunted with clinging to office at the sacrifice of principle. I, who witnessed the joy with which he welcomed his release from the laborious and anxious responsibilities of the Home Office, and the thankless and difficult task of helping to carry on the Government in a minority, can at least relieve his memory from that stigma. Nothing but the strongest sense of duty could have induced him to remain in office until the judgment of the new electorate could be taken, as is indicated by every line of his contemporary comments. On the 2nd of January 1869 he started for a short tour in Italy, accompanied by his wife and two eldest daughters. The delights of Florence, Naples, and Rome are recorded at length, and all their marvels of art and nature found in my father an appreciative sight-seer. His training and pursuits had not given him any technical knowledge of the Arts, and he could not lay claim to much æsthetic taste. However, he had a strong faculty of admiration, and expressed his sentiments on what he admired with a direct, and perhaps Philistine, frankness. The presence of Lord and Lady Cairns in Rome added to the pleasure of the holiday. I had the privilege of as intimate a friendship with the great Judge and Statesman as one 30 years his junior could hope to enjoy, and can bear testimony to the charm and simplicity of his conversation and manner. He has been sometimes called cold and hard, but in his family circle, and with his intimates,

this was not the case, he was warmhearted and expansive. He loved the sport and free life of the Highlands, and it was at such places that his privileged guests could see him at his best. This year (1869) our two families shared moor and lodge together (Millden in Forfarshire), where the two protagonists in the defence of the Irish Church were able to forget the struggles and defeats of Westminster on the hills which bound the beautiful valley of the North Esk. Both of them were keen and enthusiastic sportsmen, and no mean performers with the gun. By February 13 Hardy had returned to London from his Italian holiday. The decision of the electors had been fatal to the hopes of the defenders of the Irish Church, and, as far as the House of Commons was concerned, Mr. Gladstone was master of the situation.

D. March 18, 1869.—‘To-day Disraeli will open the Irish Church debate, and I am to conclude on our side. It is rather depressing work, but one must hope for nerve and wisdom for the occasion.’

D. March 19.—‘Days slip away uneventfully, but there is a weight upon one thinking of the political future. A stupor has fallen upon Irish Churchmen, and their friends in England seem not more alive. It is difficult to draw one’s thoughts to the great subject on which defeat is so certain. I feel as if I could not put together mine for argument or controversy, but it must be done.’

D. March 20.—‘Disraeli was sparkling and brilliant, but far from earnest. He gave no reality to his objections.’

D. March 25.—‘Palmer’s speech on Monday was one of great force and cogency on many points, and on that of endowments proved more than he was prepared to act upon. His tone to us was hostile, to Gladstone partial. His differences are such as will be got over, and his transition to the Woolsack will not be long deferred. I rose

after half-past ten and spoke for two hours and a quarter (too long), but left out much, feeling that I was taking too much time. Our own people received me heartily, and backed me steadily, nor was there one interruption on the other side. The majority was 118.'

I will not quote from the speech to which its author had looked forward with such anxiety, but both friends and political opponents admitted its cogency and eloquence. Lord Cairns wrote expressing 'unqualified delight and admiration.' Lord Morley ('Life of Gladstone,' vol. ii. p. 264) gives high praise to 'its cogent and strenuous expression of the argument and passion of the Church case.' The success of his great effort on the Resolutions had raised high expectations, and it was something not to have disappointed the sanguine anticipations of friends. The fight in the Commons was soon over, as the Bill passed through Committee with remarkable celerity. It is difficult to realise in these degenerate days how a measure so loaded with detail could have passed with so little discussion, in a time when the closure and the guillotine were unknown; but the lesson of obstruction had not yet been taught, and the most convinced opponents did not attempt to delay measures by useless debate and hopeless divisions. On May 28 my father wrote to Disraeli urging him to sum up the Irish Church case vigorously:

'It seems to me of very great importance that you should sum up our case on the Irish Church Bill, pointing out its hardship, and the arrogant spirit in which it has been pressed. However, it is not for me to suggest the mode, but a brief telling speech from you would do enormous good and place the whole party in its due position. Pray think of this, and, if you concur, act upon it.'

The third reading of the Bill was carried by a majority of 114. The Opposition Leader's speech did not satisfy his lieutenant.

D. June 2.—‘The Duke of Richmond has been to me for advice as to his course in the Lords. He is sorely against opposing the second reading, but will go with the party. I feel and sympathise with all his difficulties, and foresee trouble.’ ‘Our debate on Monday was poor, and Disraeli, in my opinion, wretched. He called out no feeling in his favour. Gladstone was very heavy. A diminished majority against us. Our men mustered well under all their discouragements.’

The second reading in the Lords was carried by a majority of 33, the Archbishop of Canterbury abstaining, and 36 Conservative Peers, headed by Lord Salisbury, voting against their party. Then drastic amendments were introduced, carried in the Upper House, and contumeliously rejected by the Commons. The fate of the measure trembled in the balance. The history of all its vicissitudes and the compromise by which it was eventually saved need not be repeated. A few extracts from the Diary may, however, throw some light on the progress of events :

D. July 15.—‘Had a talk with Disraeli about our course on the Irish Church Bill. It is difficult ; but probably Gladstone’s determination to have none of the chief amendments will make it plain and easy. It seems pretty clear that the Bill is not to pass.’

D. July 16.—‘If the Lords have any self-respect they must refuse the Commons’ amendments. Theirs have been contumeliously rejected, and in terms which, while professing respect, were insulting.’

As is well known, a compromise was eventually adopted, after long negotiations, to the success of which Mr. Gladstone’s attitude did not greatly contribute. My father,

in spite of his strong dislike to the Bill, approved of Lord Cairns's attitude on the whole.

D. July 24.—‘At the meeting of the Lords on Thursday, Cairns, who had I believe only seen Lord Granville shortly before, unfolded the compromise. It is not all that could have been wished, and caused great anger to many Peers in private, but more probably from their not having been consulted than from any impression that more could have been obtained. It required great moral courage on Cairns's part to take the line he did. The Lords have certainly improved the position very much, for their determination secured the sum down for private endowments, the control of Parliament over the surplus, and above all the 12 per cent. on commutation which ought to give a good margin, and, if the clergy show self-denial and providence, much may be saved for the future. I hope that all ill-feeling to Cairns will pass away from the minds of those who are really earnest supporters, but I doubt whether he will be persuaded to resume the post he has held this Session, that of Leader of the House of Lords. Gladstone yesterday was eminently conciliatory in his speech, and, had he been more so throughout, might have softened asperities. My belief is, however, that the conciliation was Bright's, and the Peers', and especially Granville's; and that at first Gladstone was full of wrath and opposition.’

D. July 26.—‘Cairns replies to my note of sympathy on his responsible position that his course has met on his own side with a much more unanimous approval than he could have hoped. He adds: “It is a curious passage of history if it comes to be written.”’

The chapter of Lord Morley's ‘Life of Gladstone’ which deals with this ‘curious passage of history’ quotes an entry

from Sir Robert Phillimore's diary which attributes Lord Cairns's action in the matter to his determination 'to regain, what he had practically lost or was losing, the leadership of the Lords.' So far from this being the case, he had already made up his mind to retire from that position, and the end of 1869 and the beginning of 1870 record the consultations in which my father took part as to the steps taken to fill the vacancy caused by his retirement. The following extracts refer to this matter :

D. October 29.—'Carnarvon I found very anxious for entire reunion in the party, and looking for Salisbury as leader, when and if the impediment can be removed. He clearly does not like Cairns, though he only objected to him as Leader of the House. Salisbury will certainly be Chancellor at Oxford.'

The death of Lord Derby had caused a vacancy in the Chancellorship of Oxford and called Lord Stanley to the Upper House in succession to his father.

D. November 19.—'At the club I saw Cairns, who reported unsatisfactorily of the future. I did not like his account of Salisbury's mood, nor his own view that Stanley might lead, "as Church questions need not affect the party." If not, what is left to bind the party at all?'

D. December 11.—'Yesterday went up to London by express to see Cairns, who wished to have a talk with me before leaving England, which he will do next week. He is to return at least for the beginning of the session, when he hopes some arrangement may be made. Salisbury yet hangs aloof. Derby not quite willing, but showing symptoms of persuadability. He told me of a curious conversation of Lord Malmesbury with the Queen, who was anxious that we

should have a head with whom she could communicate as she did with the late Lord Derby.'

D. December 18.—'I did not get much from Disraeli. I gather that Derby is all right, and will probably not be indisposed to lead if the party adopt him.'

D. February 20, 1870.—'Yesterday had a meeting at Disraeli's with Cairns, and Lord Derby, who was elected by the Peers to succeed him, Lord Salisbury seconding. Carnarvon present.'

D. February 22.—'Lord Derby has not accepted, but I still hope he may, for there will be a mess otherwise. The newspapers put an end to my hopes, for they contain a letter to Colville declining. What bad management to have such a fiasco! I have always thought it doubtful if he would be a good leader, but he seemed to combine the party in the Lords. What will follow?'

D. February 23.—'I went to meet Carnarvon, who was very earnest and true about the state of things in the Lords. He hoped to persuade, or to have persuaded, Salisbury to take a sort of independent Lords lead, not communicating with Disraeli (Is this practicable?), and, if after all Salisbury should fail, to have hopes of Richmond. I think he was very sincere in his wish and efforts for union, and I hope he may succeed.'

The Duke of Richmond eventually accepted the 'uncoveted position.' My father's comment on Lord Derby's refusal (S. 1890) is 'he knew himself better than he was known.' The Duke of Richmond to the day of his death continued to be one of my father's warmest personal friends, they were next-door neighbours in London, and carried on a correspondence whenever they were separated. On political questions they were in constant communication and hardly ever had a difference of opinion.

The year 1870 can be treated very briefly. The party were despondent and dispirited, not without cause. Disraeli was unwell and 'afraid of the East wind,' and even his invincible optimism was shaken, but he was not far wrong in his forecast of the duration of the Gladstone administration.

D. May 28.—'Called on Disraeli, who remains poorly and dreads the East wind. He is desponding, but looks forward to Gladstone becoming useless to the Radicals, and a disruption. Gives two years or more.'

Other statesmen were even less sanguine. Walpole 'could see no bright side'; Carnarvon 'was afraid of Salisbury's vehemence,' or, as he calls it, 'wild elephant mood.' It was little use resisting a Government fresh from the polls and flushed with the success of its first great measure. The Parliamentary notes worth recording are few and far between. A debate on the Church in Wales, 'Gladstone was explicit against English disestablishment, but did not lay down argumentative grounds,' and a small victory on the budget, 'Arrived in time to hear the Speaker on agricultural horses, to vote in the same lobby with him and beat the Government, to Gladstone's great indignation,' may serve as samples. Hardy took his part in debate, and in Disraeli's absence acted as leader, but the Education Bill, the principal measure of the session, was much more unpopular with the nonconformists and extremists than with the Conservative party.

The following extracts from the Diary refer to the great event of the year, the war between France and Germany.

D. July 11.—'The air is heavy with the thoughts of war. The Duke of Grammont's speech, so strangely intemperate and unwise unless it denoted a foregone conclusion, makes the position of Prussia most difficult. France seems bent upon coming to blows with that Power on some pretext or other, and perhaps the latter is not so prepared now as she might be in a short time. God grant that our hands may be kept bloodless!'

D. July 16.—‘War was proclaimed yesterday. Horrible must be the consequences, and awful is the responsibility of those who are in the wrong. France appears to me, as at present informed, a wanton aggressor.’

D. August 3.—‘Disraeli’s speech on Foreign Affairs did not quite please me, and I differed entirely with him about the guarantee of the treaty of Vienna. Surely Prussia herself has abrogated that. I doubt if the debate did much good, but it certainly showed a strong feeling of our obligations to Belgium, and the duty of fulfilling them for ourselves. The discussion of the project goes on, and I think the general impression is that both parties have been feeling their way, but that Bismarck has outwitted Benedetti. I doubt if the Emperor has really lent himself to the schemes of robbery proposed, from my recollections of 1866.’

The autumn holiday was spent in Scotland, first at Murthly Castle, where his eldest daughter, Edith Graham, was then living; next with the Duke of Richmond at Gordon Castle, and lastly at Cawdor Castle where he heard the news of Sedan.

D. September 4.—‘Wonderful news. Capitulation of Macmahon’s army, and surrender of the Emperor to the King of Prussia, who states that he is just about to have an interview with him. Such is the telegram just shown us by Cawdor’s factor. What events! One can hardly turn to anything else.’

D. September 8.—‘A Republican Government quietly established in Paris and welcomed by the great towns. Empress gone. Prince Imperial at Hastings. *Sic transit!*’

A note on the literary success of his leader’s novel, ‘Lothair,’ may conclude the extracts for the year:

D. July 9.—‘Disraeli showed me a note from the New York publishers in which they stated that they had sold 52,000 copies of “Lothair” in five or six weeks, and were selling a thousand a week still.’

In 1871 Gathorne Hardy did not take so prominent a part as usual in debate. The special subjects to which the time of Parliament was devoted did not much appeal to him, and although he took the lead in the Commons as a matter of course on the rare occasions when Disraeli was absent, the latter was generally at his post. He could not foresee that it would fall to his lot to carry out and complete Cardwell’s Army reforms, and like most politicians he was not blind to the logical indefensibility of the system of purchase. He was not addicted to self-advertisement, and never spoke for speaking’s sake or unless ‘the spirit moved him.’ Still his reticence caused some discontent, and I should be wanting in candour if I omitted a significant entry :

D. May 20, 1871.—‘Merewether was earnest with me as to taking more part in debate.&c., saying he was urged by many to press me. Mr. Hermon said the same a day or two ago, and yet I do not know when I have omitted when I could be useful.’

He notes his first impressions of Lowe’s Budget—‘a poor production, poorly produced.’ The fortunes of that unlucky scheme were not long in doubt, the proposed tax upon matches irritated the working man, and the increased succession duty alarmed the owners of property. A week later Mr. Disraeli, dining with his lieutenant to meet the Duke of Cambridge, in the course of ‘much pleasant conversation, told of a Whig cave on the succession duty.’ The end is recorded in the next entry, when the unpopular taxes were withdrawn and a simple addition of twopence in the pound income tax substituted.

D. April 28.—‘A crowded House to hear the Government announcement, which rumour truly anticipated. Gladstone had the unpleasant task of making it. He did not make a frank withdrawal, but held the defeated schemes over our heads for another time, on which Disraeli commented usefully. I insert a slip of paper on which D. made his only note during Gladstone’s speech, which gives the key to his reply.’

A

at another time

The sheet of paper inserted in the Diary only contains the three words ‘at another time.’ On this short text Disraeli delivered one of his most successful speeches, but he had an easy task in exposing the inconsistency of the substitution of direct taxation for the original scheme of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The defeat of the Government measure raised some excitement in Conservative circles, but it did not unduly excite my father.

D. May 1.—‘Baillie Cochrane came in, full of the “crisis” which to my mind hardly exists, so strong do I think the Government really is. They will make their new Budget to-night a question of confidence, and in that case will have their own way. They are as yet the only possible Government.’

D. May 2.—‘Disraeli was at his happiest, and wound up the debate. They have still many rocks ahead, and have not, by forcing such a division on unwilling followers, really improved their position.’

He spoke at length on the Ballot after Sir Henry James, and was much applauded, although not himself satisfied.

D. June 27.—‘I spoke on the Ballot after H. James last night, but not to my satisfaction. I was too rambling, and forgot points of importance. However, the subject was not to my mind, and no one can make it interesting.’

The measure, which even its supporters advocated without enthusiasm, passed the House of Commons, but was rejected by the Lords. It reached them at an inauspicious moment, just after their adverse decision on the Army Purchase scheme had been reversed by Royal Warrant. The following account of negotiations for a compromise during the interval is curious:

D. July 26.—‘We had Ballot at the morning sitting, during which I was summoned by Disraeli to hear a most singular communication made by the Government through Lord Bateman, who had been conferring with Glyn, Greville, and Adam, and produced notes pencilled by Gladstone himself. I met Bateman last night, and he told me that the proposition was that I should be asked to negotiate, but he insisted upon Disraeli also. The proposal was that we should assent to some 6 or 7 clauses of the Ballot Bill being passed through both Houses, the remainder to be referred to a Royal or Statutory Commission! Disraeli and I went to Gladstone and Forster on this “basis of a compromise.” Gladstone had pencilled, as I was told, that the 18th clause placing the expenses on the rates should be passed. Our reward was to be no autumn Session! against which, whatever we felt, we had said nothing. I could only laugh at the whole thing, and say, as D. agreed, that there was no ground laid for any arrangement whatever. I did not give Bateman any encouragement in the evening. . . . We did not get on much with the Bill, and at present all is cloudy, but they must make up their minds finally what course to take.’

The Bill was thrown out in the House of Lords by 97 to 48, many Whig peers abstaining. Mr. Gladstone did not then carry out his threat of an autumn Session, but, to anticipate chronological order, in the following year the Cabinet decided to try that plan, and, if necessary, a dissolution, if the Lords still hardened their hearts. The measure was passed, and has failed to justify either the hopes of its advocates or the fears of its opponents.

The following curious entry about Gladstone just at the end of the Session presents an enigma to which no clue can be found in the Diary, or in his own Life :

D. August 8.—‘Pakington amuses me with a letter on Gladstone’s only objects in life, “Co-operative Association” and “Women’s Rights.” Some new wild plunge before us!’

The autumn holiday was spent at Invercharron, a beautiful place in Ross-shire, where the whole family stayed, and had capital sport. A peaceful winter followed; saddened towards its close by the dangerous illness of the Prince of Wales. The Diary is full of the alternate hopes and fears which agitated many minds at the time.

D. November 29.—‘A private telegram of Gull to Acland speaks of the storm passing away.’—*December 3.* ‘Bulletin not unfavourable, but somehow the tone grates.’—*December 9.* ‘Alarming report—a relapse.’—*December 10.* ‘Not so bad as Friday, but I hardly derive hope from the bulletins. The excitement throughout the country appears intense.’—*December 12.* ‘The Prince still lingers, but there is a general expression in the papers of little or no hope. Still he must have strength for such a battle as he has fought.’—*14th.* ‘The Prince seemed a little relieved, but the final bulletin yesterday brought back great uneasiness about him. To-day is the anniversary of his father’s death.

It will be strange should it be the day of his own. God avert it and yet spare him!—11 P.M. ‘Two more favourable telegrams from Sandringham. Hope revives.’

From that date all went favourably, and on the 20th my father wrote to the Duke of Cambridge the letter which, with its answer, follows below :

G. H. to the Duke of Cambridge, December 20.

‘SIR

‘I hope I may be pardoned for venturing to address you on a subject which I know is occupying many minds, and in relation to which it has struck me that your Royal Highness might exercise a very beneficial influence. The remarkable manifestation of feeling in the country during the last few weeks culminated, I believe, in as earnest an outpouring of national prayer as was ever offered by a loyal people, and now that the Prince’s restoration to health may be looked for with real well-founded hope, there is a strong desire that the gracious response to a nation’s prayer should meet with due recognition. If an intimation were given that the Prince was able to attend such a ceremony, there would be Public Thanksgiving (say) in St. Paul’s, as in former days. I am confident that the sentiment lately displayed would be further developed and confirmed. I have had the matter in my mind without quite seeing where I could advantageously make a suggestion, and the recollection of much kindness on the part of your Royal Highness emboldens me to hope that I shall not be considered guilty of any improper intrusion if I invoke your Royal Highness’s intervention to effect the object which would in my opinion promote the highest interests of the country at a period when, by too many, religion and loyalty are decried.’

H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge to G. H.

' December 21.

' MY DEAR HARDY

' Your letter of yesterday's date reached me this morning, and in reply to it I can assure you that I fully concur with the views you so admirably express as to the advisability of a great public thanksgiving for the wonderful and providential deliverance of the dear Prince of Wales during his serious and almost mortal illness. I know that the greater portion of the members of my family, I may say all, are fully as much impressed with this sentiment as I am myself, but of course it must depend upon the view taken by Her Majesty on the subject, and I have every reason to believe that her pleasure will be taken on this important point. I have already communicated confidentially with Mr. Gladstone and other members of the Government on the subject, and one and all take a very favourable view of the advantages to be derived from such a course. I should like with your permission to be allowed to communicate your letter to Mr. Gladstone, but of course will leave this entirely for you to decide upon, but I think it would be very desirable that he should know how favourably such a proposition would be viewed by those leading statesmen who, like yourself, are in opposition to the present Ministry.

' Nothing can exceed the splendid and glorious loyalty displayed during the painful occasion by the whole nation, and it is right that this should be fully acknowledged by a united and cordial expression of thanks to Almighty God for the great deliverance He has vouchsafed to us. I remain, my dear Hardy,

' Yours most sincerely,

' GEORGE.'

It is well known how impressive and successful was the ceremony which took place in St. Paul's Cathedral on February 27 in the following year. Gathorne Hardy of course was present and records his impressions as follows :

D. February 28, 1872.—‘ Monday was a day of busy preparation for the great event of yesterday which was, though cold, all that could be desired for brightness at this time of year. At 9.30 I went to St. Paul's, where I had an excellent place. The arrangements were admirable, and I only grieved that Jane was not with me, as she might have been without trouble or fatigue. The ceremony was simple but imposing, and I think all will look upon this national homage as an incident which may have marked effect upon the people. Outside the crowds were enthusiastic.’

The political year commenced in 1872 with something like a revolt against Disraeli. At that time, both in the House and out of it, there was a strong feeling of discontent even among his loyal supporters, and a movement was set on foot to make Lord Derby the leader of the party. There was a great meeting of Conservative leaders at Burghley, the seat of the Marquis of Exeter, on January 23. My father travelled down with Lord Cairns and found, on arriving, Pakington, Hay, Hunt, Lord John Manners, the Duke of Marlborough, Lord Eustace Cecil, and Gerard Noel. Sir Stafford Northcote joined the conclave the next evening. The best comment on these abortive consultations appears in the Summary of 1891 :

S.—‘ Looking back on the Burghley discussion on leadership, how futile it seems ! Time did the work, and showed what the position really was. Fancy our having begun 1874 with Derby for our leader ! How impossible ! and what a fiasco would have ensued ! ’

The contemporaneous record is as follows. It is significant to notice the part taken by Lord Cairns, one of Disraeli's staunchest supporters.

D. February 3, 1872.—‘At our meeting (February 1) Cairns boldly broached the subject of Lord Derby’s lead, and the importance of Disraeli knowing the general feeling. We all felt that none of his old colleagues could, or would, undertake such a task as informing him. John Manners alone professed ignorance of the feeling in or out of doors. I expressed my view that D. has been loyal to his friends, and that personally I would not say that I preferred Lord D., but that it was idle to ignore the general opinion. Noel said that from his own knowledge he could say that the name of Lord Derby as leader would affect 40 or 50 seats. It seemed conceded that the old Government could not, or would not, stand again. What then must follow? Disraeli could not combine a new one. Would it not be better that he should not try and fail? Why not serve under Derby, for which there is abundant precedent? Corry said that he knew that Disraeli had no such intention now. Such were some of the incidents of the talk. For my own part I do not look forward with hope to Derby, but I cannot but admit that Disraeli, as far as appears, has not the position in House and country to enable him to do what the others might. It is not a bad thing to have conversed upon so difficult a matter, and to have seen the views of others. I had a few minutes with Northcote about the Alabama claims. A terrible mess it is! Northcote would at once withdraw unless the indirect claims are waived. All courses are dangerous and unsatisfactory. One should be taken which would clearly show that we will not submit such a case to the judgment of arbitrators—were they the best in the world

in morals and intellect. I hope we may not find some of them wanting in the former.'

D. *February 6.*—'I dined with Disraeli and a very large party. The Speech is not striking in contents or composition. The Ballot sounds as if meant for Ireland alone, and it is pretty clear that a paragraph (or two) has been omitted. The Alabama case is clearly the *cheval de bataille*. Wilson Patten spoke to me strongly of the effect of Derby's speech there (in Ireland?) and said there was an opinion, which he found it difficult to combat, that Disraeli was coming to counteract that effect. Absurd!'

He chronicles that Disraeli spoke with great moderation, firmness, and effect in the quiet debate on the Address, but refers again to the discontent with his leadership.

D. *February 9.*—'After my ride a long talk with the Duke of Richmond on the Burghley meeting. He seemed hurt at the ideas about Lord Derby, especially because he fancied that there might be secret intrigues. I told him he was wrong in this. He has since sent me a correspondence he had with Disraeli on neglect of communication with him, in which D.'s characteristics come out strongly. As Cairns says, "After two years of apathy he is beginning to wake up, and fancy all beside are asleep." I know how sincerely the Duke tried to keep up free intercourse with him in vain some time, so it is clear to me how unjust his first letter was.'

Possibly the indications of discontent had some effect in drawing Achilles from his tent. In April the leader went down to Lancashire, and at Manchester on April 3 made the celebrated speech in which he compared the occupants of the Treasury Bench to a range of exhausted volcanoes.

D. *April 5.*—'Disraeli's speech very long, and in parts

very good. No programme, as how could there be? His reception, Wilson Patten says, was beyond anything he ever saw.'

From that time there was never any question of seeking another leader. The question of a possible Conservative Government was, however, becoming acute. Signs that the Ministry had lost ground daily became more frequent. The two curious, and technically indefensible, appointments of Sir Robert Collier to a Privy Council Judgeship, and Mr. Harvey to the Rectory of Ewelme, so characteristic of Mr. Gladstone's subtle mind, had done much to injure the reputation of Ministers. No one disputed the personal fitness of either nominee, but where the qualification in the one case was to be a Judge of the High Court and in the other to be a member of Convocation of the University of Oxford, it was felt that the colourable appointment of the Attorney-General to a judgeship, and of the other, a Cambridge man, to an *ad eundem* degree at Oxford merely in order to qualify them, was transgressing the spirit and intention of the law. Hardy (1891) refers to these appointments as 'typical examples of the strange conscience which Gladstone has educated by his casuistry and subtle hair-splitting.' A succession of defeats at bye-elections indicated the turn of the tide.

The Speaker (Denison) retired at the commencement of the Session and was succeeded by Mr. Brand.

D. February 11.—'On Friday the new Speaker was elected. Palmer, who proposed him, was too artificial—Gladstone on stilts. His quotation "Eternal sunshine settle on his head" was even ludicrous.'

The sad news of Lord Mayo's assassination is the next event of importance recorded.

D. February 13.—'The saddest news, of which at first I was incredulous, came to me on my way to the House

yesterday. Lord Mayo fell by the hand of an assassin at the Andaman Islands, where he had been inspecting the convict establishment. A man there for a murder beyond Peshawur got through the guards just as he was embarking, and stabbed him twice in the back. This was on Thursday evening last. Poor Lady Mayo! What sorrow for her! The country, too, suffers a heavy loss, for he has done his work well, as was expressed in fitting words by Gladstone. After escaping Fenian assassins in Ireland, so he falls.'

D. February 21.—'Sir H. Rawlinson told me last night that there is a letter in the India Office some months old from an Indian Prince Ayul-something, warning that there was a religious plot to terrorise, to begin with the murders of Chief Justice, Governor-General, and Commander-in-Chief. It made no impression, and even Chief Justice Norman's death was not enough to make it credible.'

During the whole of the Session of 1872 he took a more active part in debate. He spoke, among other subjects, upon the Collier and Ewelme appointments before alluded to, the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill, the Treaty of Washington, the Ballot, and the Parks' Regulation Bill. His speech upon this last subject provoked an extraordinary outburst from Gladstone, which was much commented upon at the time. The 'Annual Register' of 1872 gives the following account of the incident:

'The Government suddenly decided to introduce a clause throwing on the Houses of Parliament the responsibility of certain by-laws for the Parks. The suggestion led to an angry and animated collision between the two front Benches, and produced a scene of great excitement in the House. Mr. Hardy denounced it as a cowardly proceeding, and an abandonment of responsibility, and referred to Mr. Gladstone's

conduct on the Parks Bill of 1866, when, he said, he set himself against order in the Parks. This called up Mr. Gladstone in a state of great excitement, who accused Mr. Hardy of being the first on all occasions to introduce "an acrid and venomous spirit into the debates," and retorted that the feebleness and bungling of the late Government in the Hyde Park affair were the causes of the subsequent difficulties.'

'Tantaene animis coelestibus irae?' The Diary thus describes the encounter:

D. February 23.—'I dined at the Temple, returning for the Parks Bill about ten. The Government being shifty, I told them so, and caused such an explosion of passion and temper from Gladstone as even he has seldom exhibited. Constant storms followed. His abuse of me amused me a good deal more than it hurt me. He could scarcely get it out for rage. Such a leader of the House!'

D. February 24.—'I found all full of Gladstone's outbreak, and even W. had not a word to say for him, but hinted in a very serious manner that he would not long occupy his post. I must see before I believe.'

The Government suffered a series of defeats during April, and on the 23rd there were rumours of their possible resignation.

D. April 23.—'Found all (in the House) excited by an article in the *Daily News* threatening resignation if the Government were beaten on Hartington's instruction on Fawcett's Bill (on Irish Education). Disraeli confirmed the account, as Hartington had told a friend that such was the unanimous decision of the Cabinet. Wilson Patten had a talk with B., who was keen for a Derby Government, and

promised much aid, but he should show it; for it is not apparent to the eye now! Disraeli had also said to Patten that his objects in life were attained, and, although for personal objects the immediate assault might be best, for the party he thought time desirable. Is he sincere? He was evidently keen for a division against the Government when he spoke to me. Some of our friends misunderstand the matter, and fancy they are called to an alliance with the Radicals, but it is clear that the Government wish to get rid of the only Conservative part of the Bill, the maintenance of Trinity College, Dublin, as a University with autonomy. . . .

‘I am sorry that a crisis should yet occur. Ballot ought to be out of the way as the last Liberal cry, for it might turn elections which on general principles should go with us. I am not keen for any more minority Governments.’

This and other references to the Ballot Bill show that Lord Morley was right in his conjecture (‘Gladstone,’ ii. p. 369) that ‘Perhaps the Opposition thought that a dissolution on the Ballot might give the Liberal Antæus fresh energy.’ Hardy was in favour of settling the question and getting it out of the way. This view prevailed, the Lords did not insist on any vital amendments, and the measure became law.

He addressed crowded gatherings at Canterbury and in St. George’s Hall, Bradford, and aroused great enthusiasm both in his adopted and in his native county. On Church questions his advice was often sought. He attended a great meeting at Winchester House on November 27 on the Athanasian Creed, and notes amongst those who were present and gave their opinions the names of Dr. Pusey, Lord Carnarvon, Lord Salisbury, Lord Lytton, Beresford Hope, and a number of the most active and influential of

the Bishops. All 'were against change, but rather in favour of a synodical expression of meaning,' especially if that 'would satisfy the Archbishop of Canterbury (Tait) and detach him from our opponents.'

D. November 28.—'I was against any action or movement on our part, and especially against any meddling of Parliament. I said that I would rather submit to Parliament assenting to non-user, but prominent retention, than to any other of the proposed courses. The Church had a right to regulate use, as she had done, differently, in the earlier Prayer-Books. The general tone was that the opponents, who hate the doctrine, had given an importance to zealous adherence to it which in other times might not have been so pressing. Pusey spoke of ceasing to be a teacher if the *Church* made *any* change. He did not care what *Parliament* might do.'

My father, strong Churchman as he was, was never intolerant; he disapproved of the attempt made to oust Dean Stanley from the Select Preachership at Oxford, and rejoiced at the majority of sixty-two votes by which he was retained in that position. He had taken the same line with reference to the opposition to Dr. Temple's appointment to a Bishopric in 1869, when he declined to sign an address to the Bishops and Archbishops upon the subject. 'The extreme parties,' he notes in July, 'are trying the Church severely. Its external enemies represented by Miall and Co. are not so strong.' Altogether his position in the party was very high. He constantly acted as Mr. Disraeli's deputy, and his Leader seems at this time to have made up his mind to bequeath his mantle to him. He himself, as will be seen from the following entries, was by no means anxious to assume so great a responsibility.

D. September 17.—'This evening I have a very cordial

note from Disraeli in answer to one asking after Lady Beaconsfield, of whom he gives a poor account. She takes no nourishment, but appears to be free from pain, and able to drive etc. He alarms me by throwing future responsibility on *me*, as he speaks of holding his position transitionally in a period of great difficulty! I hope he may long hold on, for I have no faith in my fitness to take his place, though it would be absurd not to look the thing in the face, when so many speak openly to me of it. I had rather follow, for my political education is very imperfect.'

The letter of Mr. Disraeli referred to contains some characteristic touches. After mentioning that his wife's illness had kept them in town during the whole of August and September, he refers to the view from Grosvenor Gate.

'One has the advantage here, when we wake, of looking upon trees and bowery vistas, and we try to forget that the Park is called Hyde and the bowers are the bowers of Kensington. We take drives in the counties of Middlesex and Surrey, and discover beautiful retreats of which we had never heard, and we have the excitement of travel. What surprises me more than anything is the immensity and variety of London, and the miles of villas which are throwing out their antennæ in every suburban direction.'

He next refers with anxiety to my father's health (a kick in the knee from a horse was causing him some trouble at the time, but a visit to Vichy removed all unfavourable symptoms), and concludes as follows:

'All depends on you. I am only holding the reins during a period of transition, and more from a feeling of not deserting the helm at a moment of supposed difficulty and danger than any other.'

D. December 16.—‘Taylor writes illegibly what I construe to be that I shall have to supply Disraeli’s absence on “serious questions”—a serious duty indeed! Lady Beaconsfield died at noon yesterday. It is not easy to speculate on results, perhaps D. may seek occupation in more active political life. I am rather apprehensive, however, that such may not be the case! With his great ambition reached, he is more likely to be a temperate adviser, but I can hardly dream of him as occupying the place of “Vir pietate gravis” in the House—we must wait: I have written him a line of sympathy.’

D. December 30.—‘A note from Taylor quotes Corry’s words, which assure me of Disraeli’s continued interest in politics, and, what is comforting to me, his intention to be in his place in the beginning of the Session, and to speak on the Address. I think he is right.’

CHAPTER XVI

THE LAST DAYS OF THE GLADSTONE GOVERNMENT (1873)

THE death of Mrs. Disraeli, so far from being, as my father had feared, the signal for her husband's retirement, left him more than ever determined to devote his great powers to political warfare, and he was never stronger in debate or more successful as a Leader than in the year 1873.

My father writes of Mrs. Disraeli :

S. 1891.—‘She was a devoted wife, and with all her eccentricities had much that was genial and kind about her. He had a long reign before him, which had she lived would have given her true joy.’

He of course wrote at once to his Chief to express his sympathy. The answer, which invited him to visit Hughenden, shows how deeply the warm-hearted and impulsive statesman whom some have supposed to have been a cold-blooded cynic, felt his loss.

Disraeli to Hardy, January 9, 1873.

‘I am most grateful to you for all your sympathy in my deep affliction. I know it is as heartfelt as my grief, for you too have a peerless wife, the inseparable and ever-interesting companion of your life. To lose such a friend is to lose half one's existence. Cairns was so kind as to offer to come to me when I wished, and when I have subdued the anguish

of this supreme sorrow of my life, it would be to me a source of strength and consolation. If I could be so fortunate as to induce you to meet him about a fortnight before the meeting of Parliament, I feel I should be much more capable of re-entering public life. I should not venture to ask anyone else, but I should esteem it on your part an act of friendship. By that time we shall, perhaps, be better qualified to form an opinion as to the course of the Government.'

The meeting took place on January 20.

D. January 22, 1873.—'Cairns and I went down on Monday to High Wycombe where Disraeli's carriage met us. We found him cheerful and pleasant, and, though he looks worn, yet I do not know that he appears as haggard as he looked at times during the Session. Monty Corry was the only other guest. We ran through the probable topics of the Speech, our probable course &c., and discussed the points upon which we have information. He clearly means to speak on February 6, and it is best that he should plunge into the thick of the strife at once. He has much necessary work on hand in moving all from Grosvenor Gate, which he loses; but Corry seems his factotum, and he needs one, for he is quite unfit for that sort of business. I fancy he will take rooms in an hotel for the season, as he cannot find anything else to his mind; nor indeed does he expect to find it there. How devoted he is to Hughenden! and it certainly is a pleasant spot, but, I fancy, a cold winter home.'

Their next meeting took place on February 5, when my father called upon his Chief at Edwards's Hotel, where he had taken up his quarters. He gave the usual Parliamentary dinner to the Opposition leaders on his Chief's behalf on that evening, the night before the opening of Parliament.

D. *February 6.*—‘I called on Disraeli yesterday, and had a long talk. He was in good spirits, and had his plans arranged. I had copied for him Cairns’s notes on the Award, which, he said, had been most useful to him, as Corry, being called away by his father’s illness, had not given him his own papers. My dinner came off last night : Lords March, Hamilton, John Manners, Mahon, Newport ; F. Stanley, W. Lowther, Forester, Walpole, Pakington, Mowbray, Northcote, Hunt, Patten, Taylor, Lopes, Beach, Plunket, Dyke, Baillie Cochrane, Chaplin, W. H. Smith, Holker, C. S. Lewis, and Stewart (his son).

‘Gladstone sent me the Speech direct. It is much what one expected in subjects, and some parts of the composition are Gladstonian to the last degree. All went off most pleasantly and chattily, and the dinner did credit to Mrs. White (the cook), and was done justice to by the guests.

‘The Duke of Richmond sent me the haunch of mutton, the companion of which was being eaten at his table, and Sir H. Stanley gave an excellent swan.’

The following morning he found Disraeli *en déshabillé*. It will be noticed that the old fondness for bright colours had not left him.

D. *February 7.*—‘I made an early call on Disraeli, whom I found in a dressing-gown of bright and many colours; rather nervous, but meaning to fulfil the task he had set himself, as he did. He spoke well, using Cairns’s line of argument freely. After Gladstone, who was taken by surprise and not very ready, I followed, not at great length, and merely enforcing what D. had urged by special illustrations from the Award, etc.’

Early in March the Irish University Bill came on, and

was defeated by a majority of three, 284 to 287. The Government at once resigned, and Mr. Disraeli was sent for, but refused to take office. The Constitutional questions raised, and the effect upon the political future, are of such importance that I give the entries in the Diary on the subject almost in full. The whole story of the crisis is brilliantly told in Lord Morley's 'Gladstone' (vol. ii. chap. xii. 'The Crisis'). My father gives the story from the point of view of the opposite side, and supplies many interesting sidelights on the history of the episode.

D. March 4.—'The Irish University Bill, condemned everywhere, came on. . . . He [Gladstone] was not very forcible, but Lord E. Fitzmaurice was clever, and better. . . . I got home at one. I cannot imagine their forcing the Bill through.'

D. March 7.—'I had to wind up the debate very late, which rather bothered me, and I left out much that I wished to say. I took the opportunity of telling the Government that if their honour or existence were imperilled, they should appeal to the country.'

'I was not satisfied with myself,' he adds. However, he satisfied his leader and others.

Disraeli to Hardy, March 8, 1873.

'I thought your speech excellent, and so, I observe, does the *Spectator* to-day, no mean Parliamentary critic. It is a hard trial to get up at midnight, as I know from experience—but all things you omitted to say will come into another speech, and had you not demonstrated, the effect would have been most injurious. I was very glad that you alluded to a Gladstone dissolution as ultimately inevitable, and that you spoke out to X. He belongs to a

clique, who think we have no object in the world but place and patronage, little suspecting that for four years we have, for the sake of the country, and especially of the Tory party, unceasingly laboured to prevent a premature change.'

D. March 11.—'The debate went on last night, and Ball made a good speech, but it wanted a conclusion, and that was "endowment," and that is in his mind. Vernon Harcourt attacked me for secularism and praise of the Ballot: a most unworthy perversion on his part. Bentinck promised his vote against the Bill on the ground that I had declined office for the party without a dissolution. Personally I do decline it, but cannot bind others; still the opinion is general. . . . The surrender was almost complete. Nothing of the essence, but the separation of Dublin University from the absolute control of Trinity College. They may save their existence, but hardly their honour.'

D. March 12.—'Well! The great debate is over, and Ministers in a minority of 3! We divided exactly at 2, after Gladstone had spoken two hours. He was good-humoured, and some of his points good. He ridiculed Big Ben's [Cavendish Bentinck] view of my speech, and said we must take office if called upon. We shall see. Disraeli was light and happy, but dwelt too long on the Theological Faculty, which did not deserve the labour. The Irish Romans voted against Gladstone in a body, but it was utterly wrong of Gladstone to taunt us, for our opposition long preceded theirs, and there was no compact whatever. And now what will follow? I doubt not Gladstone will try to force us in, but in vain. It is neither our duty nor our interest to dissolve Parliament for him, and I cannot admit the right of any Government to make

any question they please vital, and if a combination negatives, to force upon one portion of it all the responsibility. Possibly we may not be troubled.'

D. March 13.—'Much gossip, but no news, early yesterday. After a ride I went to the Queen's Levee, and then walked with the Duke of Richmond to see Disraeli. We were firm on the impracticability of office, but I was a little alarmed at first to see that Disraeli had even a doubt on the point. Our talk, which was very free, ended in an agreement that he might decline without asking to see his friends and consult them.'

D. March 14.—'Yesterday rumour was busy, but nothing was clearly known until the House met, when Gladstone in a few words announced the Resignation, and shortly the House adjourned. Disraeli was not present, having been stopped in the Lobby by a message from the Queen. I have since had no report, but I suppose he acted as was determined. H. L. came in before dinner, I think to pump me, but ostensibly to report the wishes of Horsman, Bouverie, and Co. for a Derby Ministry. I did not help him much! I hope all may go smoothly, but there may be personal difficulties. Pakington too has been with me, and is evidently much annoyed at my position, which I fully explained. The Duke of Richmond, who has also been here, will thoroughly support me. Sir E. Wilmot writes urging earnestly office and a Dissolution; and of course one could not be without the other. I think him absolutely wrong. All is dark as the fog of this morning at present, but I do not change my mind, though I do not foresee issues.'

D. March 15.—'Not a word did I hear from D. yesterday till I sent to know if he wished me to send any message to Cairns, who had telegraphed to me from Rome. He

only replied by asking me to come and see him to-day. Lord Derby had arrived and was with him. Of course all this means that he refused on Friday night, as agreed. I hear that among many there is a good deal of anger, but I have not come across it yet. I shall of course come in for blame.'

D. March 16.—'I resume my narrative of events. Called on Disraeli at one o'clock, and was with him long enough to hear his full detail of facts, which I minuted on my return home on a separate paper. He saw the Queen on Thursday at six, and declined coming into office in this Parliament, assigning reasons why he thought the Dissolution should be by this present Government. She was very cordial, and appeared disappointed. At ten Colonel Ponsonby visited him to say that the Queen meant, of course, to empower him to dissolve, and to ask if that would make a difference in his resolution. He went very fully into the reasons which influenced him in his determination, of some of which I have made a memorandum. He said to me that he considered the grounds he had laid down sound and unanswerable, and I gladly concurred, as Lord Derby, whom he had seen on Friday, had done. On leaving him I wrote to Richmond, and telegraphed to Cairns, "No hurry, place declined." While reading a paper at the Athenæum I was surprised to hear the Duke of Argyll say to some one that he supposed Disraeli was forming a ministry! Meeting Delane there, I was informed by him that Gladstone within an hour was informing friends that nothing would make him come back, and the Carlton, to which I adjourned, was full of a story of Hippy Damer, that he had been to see Gladstone, who had plainly spoken to him in that sense, and said he was going abroad for six months or a year. To add to the complication John Mannors coming in gave us the last news, that while he was talking with Disraeli,

Colonel Ponsonby had been shown in: this was about four o'clock. There ends all that I know, for at the Goldsmiths, where I dined to meet the Prince of Wales (and a very splendid entertainment it was), no one seemed to be better informed than myself. Young Walpole had seen Gladstone coming from Buckingham Palace after lunch time, and it must have been just after that that the Queen sent Ponsonby to Disraeli. In the meantime she has gone back to Windsor and darkness rests upon the scene. I do not like to assume that any change is possible with D., but perhaps may hear something to-day. Abergavenny, keen enough for success, writes, "Dizzy has acted most wisely in refusing to form a Government," and such is the opinion of the prudent. Taylor gives me his prognostics of the Election, and begs me to file the paper for future reference.'

The minute of Disraeli's account of the interview with Her Majesty is as follows:—

Endorsed: 'Memorandum of conversation with Disraeli on March 15, 1873, 1 P.M., written at once on coming home.'

'Summoned by letter from the Queen while entering the House of Commons on Thursday evening the 13th. Letter shown to me announcing Gladstone's resignation, and asking if he would undertake to form administration, appointing interview for 6 P.M. At that hour Queen entered the room in which he was in Buckingham Palace. Asked if he had received note and was prepared to reply, he asked if he should give a categorical answer at once, or express opinion on present position of affairs. She wished to have the answer first, and would then talk with him generally. He said that he was perfectly prepared to form an administration which, he believed, would fulfil its duties efficiently and to the satisfaction of Her Majesty, but that he would not take office

in the present Parliament. "What am I to do then?" He expressed his opinion that Mr. Gladstone had no good ground for resignation, nor he responsibility for the defeat: that the party had early in the debate by myself (he might have said Beach the first night) expressed intention to oppose before they knew of the action of the Roman Catholic party, that they deemed the Bill favourable to the priestly interest, and that there was no combination pre-arranged, nor a positive, but only a negative vote. She agreed that Gladstone's resignation was uncalled for, but founded on words which he ought not to have uttered, but he considered his honour pledged. Disraeli answered that, as in the case of a duel, he had fulfilled his pledge and might return. She enquired what he thought should be the course taken; Disraeli replied that the Parliament was old, had done its special work, and that he thought Mr. Gladstone should dissolve it. "What," she asked, "would be the result of a new election?" Disraeli: "It might result in a Conservative majority, but in any case would restore the balance of parties, which would be of great advantage to the Crown and the Lords." In this the Queen appeared thoroughly to acquiesce. If the former were obtained, Disraeli added, her position would be less troubled. With regard to the present Parliament, the majority was so large that a Conservative administration must experience checks and mortifications which would discredit them. At this moment I do not remember more, but Disraeli said that her cordiality was marked, that she began by giving him her hand, and that she manifested, as he thought, a repugnance to her present Government. By the way, at one point she said that she never thought of any third Party. Disraeli cited Lord Derby and Cairns, myself, Hunt, Northcote, as of his opinion, which rendered it needless

to consult his friends. At 10 P.M. Ponsonby called on him at Edwards' Hotel to say that the Queen had inadvertently omitted to say that the Dissolution would be in his power, and wished to know if that would make any difference. Disraeli had observed this omission, but had not called attention to it, as it did not alter the position. He explained to Ponsonby that in the case of a Government in office a Dissolution might be speedy, but not so in the case of one entering office. That the formation of a Ministry was itself a task of great difficulty, and that assuming all to go smoothly the elections could not be completed before Easter, nor, with the utmost despatch, a Dissolution had before late in May. But that he considered impracticable, for an Opposition coming in had to consider carefully whether they would adopt the Estimates—the mode of paying Alabama claims, and other matters connected with finance which might involve policy. Before going to the country questions such as the Central Asia policy had to be determined, the French treaty, and others of like nature. A view not merely general, as on a question like Local Taxation, but special and decided. In fact, in his opinion, we must be in presence of the existing Parliament probably for a long period, and to what should we be exposed? Adverse votes on questions raised to injure us, and necessary business only allowed on humiliating conditions.

'Such in substance is my recollection of what Disraeli said, and I must add that it was in strict conformity with what he had undertaken to do; and he said that the more he thought the matter over, the more clear was his conviction that the course he was taking was right. Since then he has heard nothing, and it is curious that the *Daily Telegraph* seems to imagine that he is taking time for consideration when he has given an absolute answer.'

D. March 17.—‘I learnt nothing more yesterday. A curious letter from H. L., relating Delane’s view of Disraeli’s patriotism. “Delane told me last night that he considered that Disraeli had displayed the very highest qualities of rare statesmanship—he drew a contrast between our friend and Gladstone by no means to the advantage of the latter, whom he describes as quite incapable of the high qualities now shown by Disraeli, who, he considers, has established a substantial claim to the gratitude of his party and the admiration of his countrymen.” The said H. L. has, I hear, been abusing his course everywhere.’

D. March 18.—‘Yesterday no certainty of anything. The Duke of Richmond came to me after lunch, heard what I knew, and went on to Disraeli. He found me at the Carlton, and there informed me that Gladstone had not been at Windsor, but that the Queen having sent Disraeli a “pamphlet” of twelve pages, which Gladstone had forwarded or placed in her hands, he had occupied most of Sunday in replying to it. This reply she, no doubt, sent to Gladstone, for in his statement at 4.30 he said that last night (Sunday) he received a communication from H.M. which satisfied him that the Opposition would not form a Government, that he had placed himself at the Queen’s disposal, and should attempt to reconstitute the Government. Disraeli merely replied to him that he had given his answer not on Sunday but Thursday, but misled many by the form of it into the supposition that the Queen had refused a Dissolution. I put this right in many instances, but I dare say it is still prevalent. It is curious that Gladstone’s colleagues have been in the dark throughout, as he appears not to have told them what was going on.’

D. March 19.—‘Called with John Manners on Disraeli, whom we found pretty well, but afraid of this very cold weather. His account of Gladstone’s missive to the Queen was extraordinary. He said he thought no such document was ever put before Her Majesty, or any Sovereign here. Abuse of him the main portion! I should like to see his answer, which he is authorised to read: but will G. give him the chance?’

D. March 20.—‘The explanation came off at 4.30, and we are “as we were.” Gladstone was not long, admitted his desire for rest, dwelt on the disadvantages of coming back, and quoted part of his letter to the Queen on the duties of the Opposition. Disraeli was long, and, I must add, dangerously minute, using language as to our want of a policy &c. which will be laid hold of and worked against us every day. I thought it singularly injudicious, and unnecessary for explaining his difficulty in taking office in the present Parliament. Wilson Patten, with whom I walked home, felt as I did.’

The episode was over, but parties were not ‘as they were.’ The Gladstone Government had received a blow from which it never recovered, and the end was at hand. However, Parliament resumed its ordinary routine. The next day my father’s motion on the Alabama Arbitration came on, but there was really no opposition to his view of the case: ‘the horse was dead and could not be made to go.’

D. March 22.—‘It was satisfactory to find that my statement of the case was appreciated on both sides, and Gladstone in winding up was astonishingly polite, and flattered me more than I deserved. Harcourt supported me in a good and statesmanlike speech, and I was glad that

Northcote, unwounded in susceptibilities by anything I had said, boldly maintained my view.'

The rest of the session may be dealt with shortly. The Opposition plan was to force the Government to dissolve; and bye-elections as well as the course of business in the House indicated that when the appeal to the constituencies came they would fail to secure a majority. There was an Opposition motion on the Budget, with which my father was not in sympathy, and he records with satisfaction the end, 'a rather comical one, a division not being challenged.' A Women's Disabilities Bill was debated for a whole day on April 30. 'It acquires friends, but not one in me! Henley and most of our Bench went for it.' In May he found himself for once in sympathy with Gladstone.

D. May 17.—'Miall's motion was *crushed* by Gladstone, admirably. He has been simply wonderful this week, and last night his speech was delightful to hear. Surely he is in the wrong place.'

He voiced the University objections to making Oxford a military centre. 'I endeavoured to put the University objections, not expressing my own opinions, which are certainly not so adverse: Town beat Gown as I expected.' He notes a remark of Cardinal Manning, whom he met at Chiswick on June 29: 'The Nonconformists expect, but will not get, our aid at the elections. We do not want to pull down anything in England.' He was presented to our not very civilised visitor, the Shah of Persia: 'Rather an absurd ceremony; we found him in the garden seeing steam fire-engines, and he had pugilists to perform whom I was too late to see.' He records his visit to the House:

D. July 2.—'The Shah paid us a visit and we received him without dignity, giving him, however, a sight of the

House in Committee, with the Speaker in the Chair, and in a division. He appeared a good deal amused. As Gladstone said, we imprisoned the first foreign king since John of France, for during our division he was in durance.'

He carried an amendment to the Judicature Bill making the Final Court of Appeal the ultimate tribunal for ecclesiastical as well as civil cases, which gave great umbrage to Archbishop Tait, who attacked his course strongly but unsuccessfully in the House of Lords. His attitude had the approval, however, of such representative Churchmen as Gregory, now Dean of St. Paul's, Archdeacon Denison, and the Bishop of Winchester. Within a fortnight of this communication the death of Samuel Wilberforce is recorded.

D. July 22.—'A sad and striking event occurred on Saturday—the death of the Bishop of Winchester. I guessed a horse accident when I saw the placard' [he had often commented on the Bishop's loose seat on horseback]. 'He is a great loss, and leaves a great space unfilled. His faults are all forgotten in the general feeling which so sudden a death brings; and weighed against his services they may be considered light. Lord Westbury died the same day.'

Mr. Lowe's financial irregularities at the Exchequer, of which Gladstone took so serious a view, belong to history, and are only of interest now as the immediate cause of the reconstruction of the Government, and indirectly of the sudden Dissolution of Parliament. It is not perhaps of much importance to decide a point upon which such authorities as Lord Morley, the biographer of Gladstone, and Lord Salisbury are at loggerheads; but my father always believed with the latter that the doubtful question whether Mr. Gladstone's seat for Greenwich had not been vacated by his acceptance of the office

of Chancellor of the Exchequer 'in addition to' and not 'in lieu of and in succession to' that of First Lord of the Treasury was the principal cause of the sudden Dissolution at the end of the year by which the Gordian knot was cut. It will be seen that the point occurred to him as soon as he heard of the reconstitution of the Government. The following note occurs in connection with a Conservative victory at a bye-election in Staffordshire.

D. August 9.—'How strange are these decisions of constituencies, in the midst of which Gladstone reconstitutes his Ministry! Lowe at the Home Office, he taking the Exchequer, and Bruce a Peerage and the Lord Presidency! I thought that Greenwich might be vacated, and so it would be had he *added* the Chancellorship to his former office, but I judge from the Gazette that he has turned the Statute and by reappointment to be First Lord, and also appointment to the Exchequer, he takes those offices "in lieu of and in succession to" the former one.'

He communicated his doubts to Disraeli. I give the letter and reply.

'MY DEAR DISRAELI

'What does it all mean—a Dissolution, or a more Radical policy? One thing seems clear, that if Gladstone takes the Exchequer in *addition* to his other office, his seat will be vacated. The provision in our Reform Bill which altered the law says that where the office is taken "*in lieu of and in immediate succession the one to the other*," the seat shall not be vacated. I send a note of this to the *Standard*, as preparation should be made. I am on my way north, and hope to be with Cairns at

' Millden,

' Brechin, N.B.

on Monday. I hope you are enjoying the country and renovating for this or next year as the case may be.

'Yours very truly

'August 8, 1873.'

'GATHORNE HARDY.'

Disraeli to Hardy, August 10, 1873.

'You ask, "What does it all mean? Dissolution or a more Radical policy?" I think it is a diversion to *avoid* Diss: wh: seemed inevitable, if something had not been done. They were waterlogged, but though they have changed, I don't see that they have mended, their position. The return of Bright cannot help them. . . . They probably are much too flustered to have any policy at present; but a more Radical one, if such be possible, will only precipitate their smash. . . . When you have leisure I should like to have a memorandum from you on the Law of Conspiracy, and the Statutes which regulate the relations between master and man. This subject will press us.

'Does acceptance of office in the recess necessitate immediate election?'

The question whether the Greenwich seat was vacated continued to be urged.

D. September 26.—'Lowther and Winn called upon him (the Speaker) to issue a writ for Greenwich, but he says Gladstone has not signified his acceptance to him. That question must stand over; but if Gladstone is examined by a Committee, I think he will have to admit that he "accepted the Exchequer before formally resigning."'

The autumn holiday was pleasantly spent in the Highlands, where visits were paid to Guisachan (the seat of Lord Tweedmouth, then Sir Dudley Marjoribanks), Gordon Castle, and Millden, Lord Cairns's moor in Forfarshire. I will

not detail all the 'moving accidents by flood and field,' but they appear duly recorded in the Journal. His companion when fishing on the Spey was a certain Arthur Balfour who was destined later to become a valued friend and colleague. I am tempted to insert the account of one day's work in the deer forest at Guisachan, when, although unsuccessful with the rifle, my father seems to have shown a fair amount of energy for a sexagenarian.

D. August 29.—'Guisachan.—Yesterday I started after breakfast for the Forest alone, and after 8 miles' ride, through glorious scenery, found the foresters and had a hard day with them, but did not distinguish myself by skill with the rifle. I had a fair chance about 1.30 and missed. Again towards five, after a long and scrambling stalk, I found myself near a stag lying down, and waited sitting in wet moss for his rise. The light trigger made me shoot a moment too soon, but all said that he was hit, and certainly I saw the herd go finally without him—I shall hear to-day if they found him. I had a severe walk afterwards on steeps that were almost perpendicular, rocky and slippery. I got one fall which cut my left forefinger rather rudely. Then a four mile walk at least down Glen Affric, and nearly eleven miles of pony, the latter part in the dark! Fortunately no wet except what I had imbibed in plenty into my knickerbockers &c. There had been thunder and lightning here. I was not home till after nine, and dinner refreshed me. I must be in tolerable condition to have borne my toil so well.'

On October 28 he was at Oxford, and spoke at the dinner of the Oxford Union Society, but was not satisfied with his success.

D. October 28.—'I had a great reception, but never

spoke worse, except when speaking at Oxford in 1864. My mouth was dry and my ideas seemed to fail me. I was so short, however, that I passed muster. Manning was interesting but sad. Liddon charming in language and the delicate way he touched the substance of his speech, Matthew Arnold's intrusion into spheres for which he was unfit. The Lord Chancellor was rather dreary, and the Chancellor not fully up to the mark. Still the proceedings interested me much, and one met many old friends.'

He was a severe critic of his own speeches, and sometimes when he was dissatisfied with them I have heard them enthusiastically praised by others. The next speech recorded is on December 2, when with Gladstone and the new Bishop of Winchester he addressed a very full meeting in London in support of a memorial to Samuel Wilberforce. He was much mortified at failing to recollect a quotation. the only occasion I remember when his retentive memory so played him false.

D. December 3.—'I made a mess of it in one respect, forgetting a quotation from Tennyson though I knew it perfectly well, and wrote it out for a reporter directly afterwards. It is the first time such a thing ever happened to me and warns me not to trust to my memory when on my legs. I must say it was mortifying.'

His oratory at this time was in great demand. In the very next entry he records :

D. December 5.—'I am pestered with applications to attend meetings. A banquet at Hull, opening of a Club at Chatham, telegrams and letters to invite me to Exeter to speak. Northcote is there as an elector. Where is one to stop if one goes platforming in all directions?'

At the end of the year Disraeli paid him a visit at Hemsted, where a very Conservative party was assembled to meet him—Lord and Lady Cairns, Sir Stafford Northcote, Lord and Lady John Manners, Ward Hunt, and Edward Taylor. The letter of Disraeli written on December 12 in which he proposes to come on the 16th is dated from Blenheim and describes a visit to Oxford.

‘I attended the Princess yesterday on a visit to your constituents, but the fog was so great that we could neither see nor be seen. We lunched at the Dean of Christ Church and I saw in the flesh, Jowett, Max Müller, and Ruskin! That was something.’

The visit passed off pleasantly, and there was much political consultation. Mr. Disraeli stayed till the 19th and took the opportunity of visiting Bedgbury, the seat of his old antagonist Beresford Hope and his wife Lady Mildred, sister of Lord Salisbury. He made himself very agreeable.

D. December 19.—‘Disraeli and Corry (who is a great accession to any party) left this morning. The former has made himself pleasant to all, but I am not sure that I can set down any definite conclusion from our political confabs. They must be considered preliminary talks on subjects which may or may not be forced on us hereafter.’

It was on this occasion that I remember our stalwart butcher, himself a man of six feet three, asking to be allowed to watch the shooting party. ‘I hear,’ he said to my father, ‘that there is a gentleman coming out whose leg is as big round as my block.’ This was hardly an exaggeration of the magnificent proportions of Ward Hunt, whose weight (21 stone 3 lbs. on November 9, 1865) still holds the record in the Hemsted weighing book. The year ended with the usual happy family gathering, the new one was big with great events.

CHAPTER XVII

THE DISRAELI GOVERNMENT (1874—1875)

THE great events foreshadowed were soon to come to the birth. Mr. Gladstone dissolved Parliament unexpectedly on January 24, and the result of the General Election was to put Mr. Disraeli's Government not only in place but in power, with a clear majority of 74 over all other parties combined.

S. 1897.—‘I do not know that I can abridge the history of the new Government in 1874. Gladstone's capricious dissolution overthrew him. Taylor had judged that it would have that effect. His sealed paper given me in 1873 (see *supra*, p. 321) was wonderful in its guess, and, with doubtful though probable seats, gave us about our majority. Disraeli was extraordinarily cordial with me, though not satisfying me on some points after the Ministry was formed. In its formation he could not have shown higher appreciation of my services.’

The Diary fully describes the electoral triumph. Hardy was not long out of Parliament, as the Oxford election, at which he was returned without opposition, was one of the first. He records his re-election on February 1. His eldest son, the present Earl of Cranbrook, was also returned for the second time as Member for Rye. A few entries from the Diary follow. The first gives a vivid description of the universal surprise and excitement caused by the sudden challenge:

D. January 26, 1874.—‘Great events happening. We started to shoot on Saturday, but before Park Wood was finished a telegraph from Disraeli hurried me off to town. On my way I learnt from the papers Gladstone’s extraordinary proceeding in dissolving the Parliament about to meet. His address to the Greenwich electors is voluminous, verbose, and yet obscure. All sorts of subjects for legislation are indicated, but no plans suggested. A huge bribe offered in repeal of the income tax, alleviation of local taxation, and, more obscure, by remission of taxes on articles of consumption. I was with Disraeli before four o’clock. He had been by accident for a night in London, and was aroused by his servant in the morning with the news, which he hardly believed. I was told yesterday that Lord Selborne certainly did not know the intention on Friday morning, as he told a friend there was no reason for a dissolution before October! No one outside the Cabinet had even guessed it; and the Liberal as well as the Conservative world was unprepared. Disraeli had given Cairns his only rough copy of address, and begged me to stay all night so as to see it yesterday morning, which I did. I was with him early, and suggested a few changes, which he approved; but rather verbal than of substance, as after Cairns and he had agreed, and Cairns was not there to maintain his views, I thought it best not to touch the groundwork. Much will be said about the Greenwich seat, which I believe influenced him (Gladstone, see p. 329), and the Acheen treaty, which I doubt not was Cairns’s suggestion, as he feels strongly about it. The rest is pointed and short, as addresses are not the places for argument. The Carlton, as may be supposed, was full and excited, a great writing of addresses, telegraph sending, &c.’

D. February 17.—‘Yesterday evening Disraeli called

upon me, and saying that I was his right hand, had always stood by him, &c., begged me to select what Office I would. I rather referred myself to him, and he said, to my great surprise, "If you would gratify me and the Queen, take the Secretaryship for War." He told me that the Government were practically out, for the Queen had expressed her desire that the change should be made at once. I am to consider until I see Disraeli this morning, but am inclined to let myself be guided, and do the best I can in any place that may fall to me. . . .

'Cardwell and Fortescue to be Peers, and they only, he told me. Nothing could be more gratifying than the tone in which he spoke to me.'

'*Evening.* I have been with Disraeli and have gone through his plan of a Ministry; in some points altered in talking it over. Beach, Booth, and Cross change the places originally with doubt assigned to them. I am to be at the War Department if the Queen approves. I put myself in Disraeli's hands that he might arrange as seemed best to himself.'

D. Ash Wednesday, February 18.—'I was with the Duke of Richmond yesterday afternoon, and told him he was not to be "War," which I knew he heartily desired to be. He was as usual cordial, not concealing his disappointment, but, like a true man, professing himself ready to act for the best of the party.'

D. February 19.—'Disraeli was with the Queen yesterday, and, as I heard from Cairns, she approved much of my having the War Department—said it was excellent. I only hope it may prove so. It shall not be for want of pains if it fails to succeed. . . . Last thing I was with Cairns about his Irish appointments. I ought not to omit that the Duke of Richmond is quite satisfied about his position, and showed me Disraeli's letter, which pleased him very much.'

D. February 20.—‘Curiously I have omitted Henry Graham’s’ (his son-in-law, now Sir Henry Graham, K.C.B., Clerk of the Parliaments) ‘appointment by Cairns to his Chief Secretaryship. The world seemed puzzled about my coming whereabouts. All assign the department to Richmond, and the *Times* announces in a leading article that I go to the Admiralty, speaking very favourably of my Home Office career. I met Lowe, who hoped I was coming back there (the Home Office), that he liked it, at least in the vacation, congratulating that we could snuff out Home Rulers, and keep down his extreme friends “who want to pull down everything.” Carnarvon was quite touching in his expressions of gratitude to me for the way I had understood him in the days of dissension four years ago. I was with Disraeli, but he was in a whirl, much excited and tired of all his disagreeable duty. He let out at the Irish!’

D. February 21.—‘At last we are duly proclaimed, and *Times*, *Standard*, and *Post* are favourable. For myself indeed they say far too much, and if I know my own heart I undertake with real diffidence my new office. God send me a good deliverance! Many warm hearts pray for me.’

‘4.45 P.M.—Just back from Windsor, once more a Secretary of State. Salisbury and Disraeli seemed quite harmonious.’

D. February 24.—‘I had a long spell at the War Office yesterday and found Ralph Thompson Chief Clerk, which is pleasant. H.R.H. (the Duke of Cambridge) honoured me with a very long interview, and spoke very freely upon all subjects, and I mean to do the same with him when I understand them better.’

The next entry refers to Sir Garnet Wolseley’s successful conduct of the Ashantee War.

D. February 26.—‘Called up at 5.30 A.M. to read a telegram sent by Carnarvon that Coomassie was taken on February 4 after five days’ hard fighting. A somewhat incomprehensible but unpleasant telegram came last evening from Lisbon of a battle on January 31 which left things in an uncertain condition. However, all seems well. Losses under 300. These Ashantees must be brave fellows to resist so well, and so long.’

D. March 11.—‘I did not ride, but walked a good round to the War Office, where the Ashanti king’s umbrella was brought for my inspection before being laid at the feet of Her Majesty. It is a curious sort of canopy of fetish balls &c. underneath rude work. I was among the very few who thought that the king would treat after all, and so he has done, paying an instalment of indemnity.’

The next entry records a defeat of the Government by an Irish surprise in my father’s absence, and his comment on the misfortune. I find among his papers a lithographed circular from that stern disciplinarian Mr. Disraeli, who ‘much regrets to observe that he was absent on the division which took place last evening at 8 o’clock, on which occasion Her Majesty’s Government was, by reason of the absence of its members, placed in a minority, and he would beg leave to point out how difficult it must become to carry on a Government which cannot reckon on the attendance and support of its members.’ Much water had flowed under the bridges since my father in his first office of Under-Secretary had tendered his resignation on receipt of a similar circular. This time he accepts the rebuke in a more chastened spirit !

D. May 2.—‘I came home from the House to dine with permission of Rowland Winn’ (the Whip ; afterwards Lord St. Oswald), ‘and, though I was back at 9.20, found that

in the meantime the Irish members had achieved a victory over us by 2 votes. That period, 7.30 to 9, will be fatal to us if we do not mind. I find the relief of getting away so great that I do it whenever I can. I suppose, having taken the shilling, I must stick more closely to the ranks.'

At the Woolwich Review, described in the next extract, he met the Czar of Russia, Alexander, 'rather a sad face,' and the Prince Imperial, both destined to violent deaths.

D. May 21.—'Yesterday was spent in Woolwich. I went down in the Emperor's train, and over the Arsenal with the party. . . Lunched at the Mess-room, and saw well afterwards the splendid Artillery Review. The scene was fine and exciting. I was in plain clothes, and vindicated my condition to the Prince of Wales, who had spoken to Stanley on seeing him without uniform. The Emperor spoke to me with admiration of the Arsenal, but said "How expensive! crescendo! crescendo! crescendo!" I was introduced to the Prince Imperial, a pleasant-mannered young man, of whom Sir Lintorn Simmons gave a good report.'

On the Public Worship Bill my father found himself fighting side by side with Gladstone, and in opposition to his Chief and the majority of his own party. He received a copy of the Bill, and letters from Her Majesty and the Archbishop of Canterbury, enclosed in a letter from Disraeli in March. In spite of the pressure put upon him, his answer, with which he encloses an abstract of the Bill and his comments, is not ambiguous.

WAR OFFICE,
'March 20, 1874.

'MY DEAR DISRAELI

'It would be difficult to draw a worse Bill than that proposed by the Archbishop. If all the necessary details were inserted it would be more clearly seen how

difficult it would be to work, and how unreal its working would be. I am far from saying that the present state of things is tolerable, but the proposed change would be worse. I have made for myself a short abstract of the Bill, as I thought you might wish to send it to some other of your colleagues.

‘Yrs vy truly

‘GATHORNE HARDY.’

The memorandum enclosed is as follows :

‘I. The Board of Assessors perfectly novel in Constitution. Election of lay portion by churchwardens, to whom no such power is meant to be delegated ; fit for parochial, not for diocesan purposes.

‘No method of election proposed—whether all churchwardens are to have four votes, or the laymen are to be chosen singly or dually in different divisions of the diocese.

‘The lawyer a nominee of the Bishop. One churchwarden in each parish the nominee of the clergyman.

‘Archbishop and Rural Dean may be not unfit persons to set in motion the machinery, but “one parishioner ” calling it into action an absurdity.

‘II. The points upon which they may make representations not justly chosen or properly defined.

‘1. No limit of time within which objection to ornaments without lawful authority may be taken.

‘2. If ornaments of ministers are unlawful—law may put them down, and a cheapening of legal proceedings rather than creating a new tribunal is the right course.

‘3. *Lawful* ornaments, though differing from those heretofore in use, ought not to be open to attack.

‘4. And this appears more plain when conformity to the Prayer Book under this head is called for.

'5. *Any change* by an incumbent without authority of the Bishop, absurdly vague and unreasonable, opening the way to endless vexation by a fractious parishioner.

'The report of the Board of Assessors "that proceedings would in their opinion be expedient" opens to the Bishop absolute dispensing and controlling power, without regard to law, and only to usage where he pleases. On the face of the Bill, the Council is summoned, without powers of any kind, merely to cover absolutism in the Bishop.

'Lastly,—The funds of the minister inhibited ought not to be used, if taken, for anything but supply of the parish, and the power given to the Bishop to employ it "for any ecclesiastical purposes" is outrageous.

'On the whole the Bill is crude—at least doubtful in principle, if not absolutely wrong—no adequate means of producing the machinery proposed—the machinery called into existence for no adequate purpose, practically not to give, what may be needed, more easy remedy for illegal actions, but power to a Bishop to make law for his diocese which may be different from that of any other, so that unity and uniformity will be further off than ever.'

Such extracts as relate to the proceedings on the Bill follow next.

D. July 10.—'The Public Worship Bill on at last! Gladstone spoke most earnestly against it, and promised abundance of work before, and in, Committee. Harcourt was very effective in the later part of the debate. I followed, adversely, with the greater part of the House, and especially my own side, hot for the measure. A cat intervened while I was speaking, and caused an amusing confusion. I am glad to have it over; the "*Something* must be done" deafens men to the consideration of "what." After two

divisions on the adjournment I came away, and see they kept it up to 3.30.'

This was the occasion referred to before, when the interruption caused by the cat recalled to the speaker's memory the parallel case of the Synod of Dort being disturbed by an owl.

D. July 18.—'A long morning and a night sitting on the Public Worship Bill, on which our friends are mad. They cheer "a Parliamentary Church," statements that the Queen is the "Head of the Church," and in fact show a profound ignorance of what a Church is. They are as far wrong as the extreme Ritualists, who are unhappily protected by the moderate as well as the very High Churchmen. Home at 2.'

D. July 29.—'Had my four hours at the War Office, and to the House, which I left at 19 minutes to 2 o'clock. Hardish sitting! The Public Worship Bill occupied us, and the Members were not less keen, almost mad about it; disappointment will follow.'

D. August 1.—'A morning and evening sitting on the Public Worship Bill, at which Gladstone reappeared, and we voted together on one or two main points. Our people were mad as usual, and would barely listen. Both front Benches opposed them in vain.'

D. August 5.—'Public Worship in the Lords: I heard much of the debate on the over-ruling power of the Archbishops, which was struck out, as was the procedure clause for Colleges. Both most justly! Harcourt and others threaten, but they will be mad to reject the Bill for such causes.'

D. August 6.—'Well! all went smoothly. Gurney'

(Russell Gurney, Recorder of London) 'was sensible, Harcourt windy, pompous, artificial, crammed with inapplicable learning, Disraeli too strong in his terms, and dangerously so as to Salisbury "a master of flouts and jeers", indeed, I got Eustace Cecil to write to him, to say that what might read as offensive was mere chaff. It appears that Salisbury never used the language imputed to him, though I dare say he was biting, but he hardly deserved Harcourt's "non-vituperative" words, "rash and rancorous tongue." Gladstone dressed the last in fine style, to the amusement and delight of all in the House. So the Lords' amendments were accepted, and the Bill is to begin its work next July, when friends and foes will learn its exact value. I hope no such sundering measure will be blundered over by Archbishops again! Carnarvon sent for me to bewail what he fancied Disraeli's desire to snub him and Salisbury. Such stuff!—the case is directly the reverse. He said that he *knew* that Disraeli meant to invite Harcourt to office.'

D. August 17.—'I am glad to hear from Malmesbury that no harm has come between Disraeli and Salisbury from the escapade at the end of the Session. The latter "wrote a very good-humoured letter."'

My father in 1892 thus sums up the situation :

S.—'I had in 1874 to support him (Gladstone) on some points, and especially on the Public Worship Regulation Bill, which has not surprised me by its working. My calm remonstrance and opposition were hotly resisted by my friends, who *seldom* failed to respond to my opinion.'

It would be impossible in a work of this kind to discuss or even to describe in any detail the administrative conduct of Gathorne Hardy in his various offices. His tenure of

the Seals of the War Office came at a time of exceptional difficulty. Cardwell had laid down the principle of certain important Reforms: the Abolition of Purchase, short service, and a Reserve; but it is no disparagement of his great services to repeat what his Under-Secretary reported to my father as his parting words, 'I leave behind me chaos.' His successor deemed it his duty, not to reverse, but supplement, the policy of his predecessor. In his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge he found a loyal coadjutor, but not an enthusiast for the new ways.

'H.R.H.,' he writes on March 1, 'is frank and friendly, and evidently expects and respects difference of opinion; he argues without any peremptoriness, and accepts without any ill-feeling an adverse decision. Pakington tells me that such he always found him.'

There are many hundreds of letters from the Commander-in-Chief among the papers entrusted to me, all couched in the most frank and friendly terms, and displaying an extraordinary knowledge of all the minutest details of the work of his high office.

The appointment of the young Earl of Pembroke to the Under-Secretaryship was one of Disraeli's surprises.

D. March 2.—'At last Disraeli has given me an Under-Secretary, and surprised me by his name—Lord Pembroke. Of his abilities there is no doubt, of his efficiency in the office and in the House the trial has yet to come.'

D. March 3.—'Lord Pembroke came to the office yesterday. He is *very* tall, very young and ingenuous-looking, with a prepossessing manner. He has not yet taken his seat in the Lords! However, he seems determined to learn the work.'

Disraeli's knowledge of men did not play him false in this instance. Lord Pembroke had all the charm and ability of the Herberts, but unfortunately his health did not prove equal to the strain of public life, and he could not long fill the post for which he had been selected. He resigned after a struggle of a year on May 29, 1875, and was succeeded, at my father's wish, by the present Earl Cadogan, who displayed in that position the industry and capacity he has since shown in many high offices. He became, and continued to the end, one of my father's most valued friends.

Estimates, which usually form a topic of controversy between the Treasury and the spending departments, gave little trouble this year. War Ministers of the present era will read with envy and surprise the brief record of the duration of the first night of Army Estimates in the year of grace 1874.

D. April 14.—'Had a fortunate evening, concluding all the Army Estimates by or before 9.30—a wonderful feat! I was home at 10!'

On May 22 he had to speak on the Oxford military centre, which he had opposed the year before in his private capacity as Member for the University; the occasion was notable for one of the first appearances of a brilliant political meteor, Lord Randolph Churchill. The incident is described in his 'Life' (vol. i. p. 66).

D. May 22.—'Quite a lively debate. My part was short, as I merely stated the facts which compelled me to the course I took. Hall, M.P. for Oxford (City), and Randolph Churchill were the chief speakers con and pro. Of course we negatived the motion, but it was a disagreeable one for me, as Hope really repeated my speech of last year, none of which I really withdrew; but it was too late.'

In the autumn a Royal Commission on Army Promotion

and Retirement was appointed. My father did his best to induce the Duke of Richmond to accept the chairmanship of this body, but he was unable to find the time, although he wrote (July 16): 'I was always of opinion that before purchase was abolished some scheme of promotion and retirement ought to have been considered.' Nothing strikes me more forcibly when reading the vast amount of correspondence preserved with reference to Royal Commissions than the enormous labour involved in their formation, and, too often, the slender ratio of the results to the labour.

He visited the Queen at Osborne on August 15.

D. August 18.—'Her Majesty was very gracious at, and after, dinner, and, I suppose, has forgiven my truth about the "Head of the Church," though it moved her greatly. However, Cairns's memo. on the subject, in which I do not agree, has made her happy. She saw me again before leaving, and spoke very freely and graciously on all the points on which she touched.'

The reigning Prince and Princess of Roumania visited Hemsted in September.

D. September 10.—'I found them very pleasant and agreeable, the latter very pleasing and speaking English admirably. The place was looking its best, and all was *charmant*. More easy people to entertain never were.'

On December 7 he dined at the Literary Society.

D. December 8.—'I was between Lord Lawrence and the Bishop of Peterborough. There were twenty present. Archbishop of York, Lord Coleridge, Lyttelton, Deans of Westminster and St. Paul's, Richmond, Venables, Newton, Rawlinson, &c. Northcote and Lord Carlingford elected. Reeve told me that Lord Russell expressed his "great relief"

at the General Election! Whig alarm, but no Whig check! His reminiscences are soon to come out, and he wrote to Longman that he had been reading Greville's memoirs, which reminded him of the Athenian actor who achieved fame by imitating a pig, another actor introduced under his robe a pig, but he was hissed off while the imitator was applauded. "I am the pig," ends the note. Among the many good stories, one of Trench in his regret at leaving Westminster for Dublin, "The abhorred shears of a legal document have severed me from Westminster. Do you, Stanley, attend to the old distich—

"Si qua sede sedes, et sit tibi commoda sedes,
Ista sede sede, nec ab illa sede recede."

I am not absolutely sure of the words, but as I caught them I set them down. Add Lord Chelmsford's comment on his (Trench's) first speech, "If this is a deep Trench, it is a very dry one."

There is an ominous note towards the termination of the first year of office :

D. November 18.—'We had a Cabinet yesterday. Disraeli was looking very poorly, and I find Cairns and others very uneasy about him, and it seems that he has used such expressions as that Derby may be sent for at any moment. He was in good spirits yesterday, and I hope rest and change of air may set him up, for I do not contemplate such a change as would occur, with equanimity. We dined at Derby's to meet Schouvaloff. Had a pleasant evening. He is amusing, and I had him next me at dinner.'

Towards the end of the year came the preparation of the Estimates, and both in the Diary and the correspon-

dence there are indications of the struggle which so often takes place between the Treasury and the spending departments.

D. November 11.—‘After 3 hours at W.O. came the Cabinet, which was a very useful and businesslike one; but I fear that the only real need for Army improvement, money, will not be forthcoming.’

D. November 13.—‘We had a Cabinet at 3 and did good work; but I tremble at my financial prospects. I shall have neither clay nor straw for my bricks. However, I must try to help the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but I wish he had not taken the natural increment into his calculations last spring.’

Early in the following year (1875), he lost his eldest surviving daughter, Edith Graham. Her second son had been born on December 23, and all at first seemed to go well, but she passed away peacefully just before midnight on Friday, January 8. I need not say how terribly my father felt the loss of a daughter, one so well loved by all who knew her, whose short married life had been so happy. ‘What a mystery it all is!’ he writes, ‘how needing explanation, as no doubt we shall hereafter have it.’ The greatest blessing for anyone so bereaved is to have some definite and engrossing work, and my father soon returned to his duties.

D. January 15, 1875.—‘I attended the Cabinet at 3 yesterday, and was most kindly welcomed. No one could answer the statement I had to make as to Army needs—indeed, it was impossible. The Queen has written a very touching note of condolence, which reached me while there, and I acknowledged it. She feels for others’ sorrows. This morning Gladstone’s letter announces his definite retirement

from the lead of his party, but he retains his seat, and will evidently reappear in the House on occasions. It is a great event.'

He gained great credit for his conduct of Departmental business this Session, and delivered some of his best debating speeches on Army questions.

D. February 23.—'At a little before 5 brought on the second reading of the Regimental Exchanges Bill. My statement was well received, and followed by a well delivered, well prepared, and able speech of Trevelyan's. A long debate ensued, but after a motion for adjournment, following my short reply, had been withdrawn, a division of 282 to 185 wound up the satisfactory night.'

D. March 16.—'Trevelyan, Lowe, Gladstone, spoke strongly against the Bill, and I followed the last, and sat down famous! Nothing could exceed the compliments paid me by Disraeli, and everyone who spoke to me. It would not look well to put down the extraordinary terms in which my speech was praised. Stanley did a most kind and considerate thing, for when I got home I found that he had sent a special messenger to Jane to tell her of my success. Our divisions were excellent, and the Bill got through Committee without a single change. Gladstone spoke courteously and kindly, complimenting Stewart (the present Lord Cranbrook) on a short speech he made, and I responded to him in the same strain.'

The Bill passed its third reading without a division on the 17th, and has worked satisfactorily, without in any way justifying the fears of its opponents that it might be made an indirect method of re-introducing some traces of the purchase system. The Mutiny Bill, destined later to

become a powerful means of obstruction, passed through on the following night; and after a brief Easter holiday, spent happily at Hemsted, the first night after his return he got 'all his votes before 12, except militia.'

An entry recording an attack of indisposition towards the end of April is only inserted because of the light it throws upon the wonderful health he had hitherto enjoyed. In less than a week after his attack he was 'feeling all right,' and able to return to work after something under three days in bed.

D. April 26.—'I do not remember such a continuance in bed since boyhood! With the exception of a few hours on Thursday morning, when I tried to remain up, from Wednesday afternoon till 10 on Saturday morning.'

D. May 4.—'I had a War Office meeting on many topics, which did not, however, last as long as I feared. I got bewildered with the multitude of questions pressing for solution, and all needing what I cannot get—money.'

D. May 8.—'Though I do not anticipate immediate risk, yet there are heavy clouds in the air, and the last news I had from Adams, who represents Lord Lyons at Paris, was by no means reassuring. My course is beset with difficulties, but I must do my best.'

D. May 29.—'A long weary debate from 4.30 to 1 o'clock in the morning. Unreasoning and unreasonable abuse, too extravagant, so that one has to appear defending too much, while one is conscious of many defects.'

D. July 15.—'I had to be up early for my visit to Shoeburyness. Up to lunch we had fine weather, afterwards much rain. The experiments were very interesting and showed our muzzle-loaders possessed of force, accuracy, and rapidity, not to mention the safety of them, upon which those who serve them rely. There were many scientific

artillerists there, and I think what was seen made a very favourable impression.'

It was on this occasion that one of these scientific artillerists played a practical joke upon Lord Eustace Cecil, the Surveyor-General of the Ordnance, who was of course present in his official capacity, which I have often heard my father describe with much amusement. When the rain came on, the expert whispered in his ear 'Put your umbrella down, sir, but do not tell Lord Eustace.' At the next discharge of the heavy artillery the concussion carried away all the silk from the Surveyor-General's open umbrella, leaving only the stick and ribs in his hand.

The next extract refers to the vote for the Prince of Wales's visit to India.

D. July 16.—'We had a long discussion and many divisions on the Prince of Wales Estimate. The debate, except as Disraeli and Gladstone were concerned, was vulgar and egotistical. Sir G. Campbell spoke of "the successor to at all events a very considerable office!"'

The Agricultural Holdings Bill, referred to in the next extract, was the Duke of Richmond's successful measure changing the presumption of law in favour of the tenant, and giving him compensation for various kinds of improvements. The Plimsoll episode directed public attention to the Merchant Shipping Bill and caused great excitement at the time.

D. July 23.—'A most satisfactory meeting of the party brought it into order for the Agricultural Holdings Bill. Disraeli never spoke better, with dignity and firmness; Salisbury and Cairns followed, and I fancy the other speakers were all ready and eager to pass the Bill. At the sitting of the House, Merchant Shipping was abandoned,

when a strange scene ensued. Plimsoll acted like a maniac, as some say having prepared for the drama, hoping to be committed to prison, or to the custody of the Serjeant at Arms. His reprimand was wisely adjourned, but what happened led to a long talk at midnight on the discharge of the order, and prevented my Militia Bill coming on.'

D. July 27.—'A Cabinet at 2 suddenly summoned to talk over the Plimsoll excitement, all renewed. I always felt, and said, we could not abandon the Merchant Shipping Bill without an autumn agitation, and his conduct has hurried it on.'

A temporary Merchant Shipping Bill followed which was made permanent the following year. I give the brief account of the episode from Low and Sanders's History.

'The Merchant Shipping Bill was forced upon the Government by Samuel Plimsoll, the Member for Derby, who for several years had been conducting an agitation against the sacrifice of sailors' lives through over-insurance, and the risk entailed by excessive and careless loading. The Bill had made some progress when on July 22 Disraeli announced that it must be abandoned for the Session. Plimsoll's feelings got the better of him, and in a violent speech he threatened to "unmask the villains who have sent brave men to their death." For his excess of zeal he subsequently apologised, while declining to withdraw any statement of fact. Public opinion was with him, and in the last fortnight of the Session the Government passed a temporary Bill by which the Board of Trade was entrusted for a year with extraordinary powers of detaining ships, the responsibility of fixing a load line was thrown upon owners, and grain was prohibited in bulk where it formed more than

one third of the cargo. These provisions were made permanent in the following year.'

The Session, a very successful one, came to an end in August.

D. August 5.—'Signs of the end. Supply was finished yesterday. The dinner at the Mansion House followed. Disraeli was long and minute, but hit most points.'

D. August 7.—'The days slip away, but we get on. Last night Judicature was carried, and on the second reading of the Appropriation Bill a long-studied attack was made by Hartington, who had been crammed by Lowe but used his materials well. Gladstone was present, but there was only a duel, and Disraeli did his part in admirable style. He was full of fire, fun, and energy, and wound up our sessional career successfully. Home about 2.'

D. August 11.—'The Fish dinner was admirably managed by George Hamilton in the Chair. He showed great humour and versatility, and made the evening quite pleasant, far the best I have been at.'

D. August 13.—'The summaries of the *Times* and *Standard* do justice to Northcote and Cross who have had the prominent work, and they deserve honourable mention. Both have succeeded and made their mark.'

On the 13th of August he started for Gordon Castle and Glenfiddich with the Duke of Richmond. After a pleasant stay of about a fortnight he arrived at Balmoral on August 27 as minister in attendance on Her Majesty after a journey of twelve hours. 'Such a journey. From 6.45 A.M. to 6.45 P.M.' He found the Queen with her mind much occupied by the terrible and fatal accident which had taken place in the Solent just before she came North, when the Royal yacht came into collision with Mr. Heywood's yacht

the *Mistletoe*; and instead of leaving on September the 1st as had been originally arranged, remained until the 7th at Her Majesty's desire to consult about the course to be adopted. He managed to do a little bit of departmental business on the way. 'At Aberdeen I got the Provost and a Clerk of the works at the Royal Engineers' Office and inspected the Barracks and plans for Brigade Depot. . . . I understand the thing at all events now.' There is a very full account of all that passed at Balmoral. I give a few extracts only, which will convey some idea of the duties of a Minister in attendance.

D. August 27.—'Balmoral. I have been dining with Her Majesty, having waited till nine o'clock: she was very gracious and cheerful, but the accident hangs on her mind, and until the verdict (of the Coroner's Jury) reaches her she will be uneasy. Hunt tells me that his naval friends think that the managers of her steamer will not be exonerated. I hope that justice may not require this, for it will give her great pain. The party at dinner were Jenner, Lord Bridport, Lady Abercrombie, and Miss Phipps, and Prince Leopold and Princess Beatrice.'

D. August 28.—'I have had plenty to do, writing letters &c., and only got a short walk before lunch. General Ponsonby had been with me from the Queen about this sad yacht affair, and the strange conclusion that the telegraph brings, that the jury are bound over to the assizes because they could not agree. It is an entirely novel proceeding to me, and the suspense worries Her Majesty dreadfully. After lunch she sent for me and kept me a long while talking; but I think I made her see that there was nothing for her to do, (action of some kind she desired,) that her strength was to sit still, while the ordinary processes of law afford ample means of investigation. It seems to me absurd to bring in

the Criminal Law ; but there are ways open to that. She described the scene graphically, and gave me an admirable letter of Miss Phipps to read. It really gives me a complete idea of the suddenness and sadness of the collision with its awful result. One moment, and the yacht was gone as if it had never been : a few chairs and spars floating upon the surface of a quiet sea. . . . I have written to the Chancellor, Hunt, and the Solicitor-General ; not for any good, but it soothes the Queen to know that something is being done.'

D. August 29.—'The dinner was rather of the whispering kind, and the Queen is so full of this accident that her thoughts seem away. She talked to me long after dinner, and I did what I could to calm her. The Coroner has taken a course which is incomprehensible and unnecessary, and the real grounds do not appear. A letter from Disraeli to her amused and interested me. He was in "hourly" communication with those on the spot. Had "passed an anxious week," his principal duty being to save Her Majesty from worry added to her cares of State. By the way, King Theodore's son was with the Biddulphs, a pleasant-looking, intelligent boy.'

D. September 1.—'Dined with the Queen, Prince and Princess of Wales, Count Adolphus, Prince Leopold, Princess Beatrice and Lady Abercrombie. Her Majesty talked long with me in the Drawing-room, still harping on the Solent, the Princess a short time, and the Prince till we separated. . . . Alas ! my plans are changed by Her Majesty's desire that I should remain here a few days longer to consult on the new phase which has arisen respecting the collision. The mate's body has been found at Portsmouth, so I presume a new Coroner and Jury will take up the case, with more wisdom and justice I hope than the last.'

D. September 5.—‘I was off yesterday at 10 for Altnagussach, where I had not been for 8 years. Thence we walked to the heights where deer had been seen. Our stalks, one after another, were unsuccessful, deer few and uneasy, “a fox,” “a hind,” “our wind” in turn sent off the different lots we tried, but time and patience brought their reward. At 4.45 I got sight of a stag we had seen above us, and brought him down. He was a Royal, with 12 good points, and counting the smaller ones, as Prince Leopold says I ought to do, 14. I had a sharp two hours’ walk back, trying all the corries in vain. Dined with the Queen.’

D. September 6.—‘Just come from a long interview with the Queen on the *Alberta* and many other topics. The report of the Naval enquiry may be considered favourable: entirely acquits Prince Leiningen, thinks the speed advantageous, and only doubts whether Welsh might not have so diverged altogether as to avoid any possible steering of the *Mistletoe*. She ended with a few words of sympathy with us in our loss, most kindly, and touchingly. She has been most gracious with me. . . . Just as I was preparing for dinner John Brown brought me from the Queen two books: “The Life of the Prince Consort,” and a quarto of “Our Life in the Highlands”—addressed to me in her own writing. It is pleasant at least after one’s stay to have such a mark of good feeling towards me. I have been dining with her, and thanked her for giving me such “heirlooms.” She was most kind in manner and talked very freely, and I am afraid too long for her daughter, who fidgeted much.’

The year ended quietly, but there were mutterings of the coming storm in the East. He writes to the Duke of

Richmond on September 20 expressing his anxiety, and desire for further information with regard to Bulgaria.

'Baring's report will, I expect, modify the facts, but leave enough for hysterical agitation and partisan malevolence. . . . The tragedy has been such that it would have justified great indignation, but the party tactics which, at the cost of the influence of this country, have been adopted, fill one with disgust.'

Another cause of anxiety was the issue of a circular by the Admiralty on the subject of Slavery, which was almost immediately withdrawn. As will be seen from the extracts which follow, the Government responsibility for this error, which 'caused a wave of indignation to sweep over the country' (Fitzmaurice's 'Life of Lord Granville,' vol. ii. p. 158), was technical only.

D. October 2.—'I am puzzled at Hunt's Slavery Circular, and fear mischief will result. Explanation is really needed, and when that is the case an error has generally been committed.'

D. October 8.—'I rejoice to see the withdrawal of the Slavery Circular, the issue of which I have never heard explained, or understood. We had three Cabinets and of course began with the Fugitive Slave Circular, which was really not defensible in law even, much less in policy. It was withdrawn at once.'

It is amusing to quote from Lord Granville's *Life* his cautious advice to Mr. Bright upon the subject, out of which so much party capital was made.

Granville to Bright, December 31, 1875.

'Gladstone and I got two letters from a gentleman of Sheffield stating that he was a Liberal, and calling attention to an article in a local paper containing an extract from

Admiralty orders in 1871 on the giving up of fugitive slaves within territorial limits, and asking us to relieve ourselves from the odium of such a statement. Gladstone answered that he had never heard of, or seen, such a document. I did not answer at all, for though my recollection was the same, very important things sometimes slip through a great office; and moreover I am not sure that in strict international law, notwithstanding James and Harcourt, we are justified in receiving fugitive slaves within the territorial limits of countries where we have acknowledged domestic slavery. Upon private enquiry I believe I am not responsible for anything of the sort, but that there were at the time existing instructions of which I do not know the date. I cannot conceive the instructions of this year to be justifiable, *but it will probably be safer in discussing the merits of the question not to give it too party a character.*¹

My father accidentally missed the last Cabinet of the year, at which the purchase of the Khedive Ismail's shares in the Suez Canal for £5,000,000 was agreed to.

D. November 25, Hemsted.—'It appears from a note Farquharson sends that there was a sudden Cabinet at 2, I having left London at 12. Carnarvon tells me the Suez Canal affair was agreed upon. It is a bold step, and I trust may prove a useful one, but we shall hear much about it.'

D. November 26.—'John Manners writes about the Cabinet, and says Disraeli is greatly delighted at the coup; *prima facie* it is one, but criticism has yet to come.'

¹ The italics are mine.—ED.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE THIRD YEAR OF THE DISRAELI GOVERNMENT (1876)

THE year 1876 was destined to prove an eventful one in my father's career. The succession to the Leadership of the House of Commons demands separate treatment, but the change was at hand. The allusion to Disraeli's health in the next extract was one omen among many of his approaching retirement from the scene of his combats and triumphs.

D. January 19, 1876.—'Our first Cabinet; Disraeli looked a good deal pulled down by his severe cold, but the warmth and brightness of the day had made it safe for him to come out. After some slight talk on the Slave Circular, which is not so strong as the instructions of former Governments (see Lord Granville's letter *supra*), my Army claims were considered, and I found that all had read my paper and were very favourable, so that in the end I got all I wanted. I must, however, try to give the Chancellor of the Exchequer relief in other things, which are terribly high.'

Before proceeding with the extracts from the Diary dealing with public questions I may note one or two private matters. My father's eldest brother, John Hardy, the head of the family, obtained a Baronetcy; and his eldest son, the present Sir Reginald Hardy, was married to a niece of Mr. Gladstone, Marion, youngest daughter of

the late Captain John Gladstone, thus making a connection between the two families. There is an entry on March 5: 'Went on to the Gladstones' small and early. He was very cordial and spoke in the highest terms of his niece Marion.' Another (January 5) records the appointment of one with whom the writer was destined later to have intimate relations.

D. January 5.—'I see with surprise Lord Lytton named for Governor-General *vice* Northbrook. I had no idea his claims were so high.'

On July 28, there is a curious piece of information as to the high office: 'Carnarvon told me that he was urged to go to India.'

The Slave Circular, the Queen's title of Empress of India, which aroused heated opposition, and later on, the Eastern Question, which soon became acute, were the principal topics of debate in Parliament. In all these my father took an active and prominent part. He had also to decide a departmental matter upon which there was much opposition to his view, the building of Knightsbridge Barracks on their present site. He always held a strong view that there should be a Cavalry Barrack in a central position near the Park; and writing in 1892 he reflects:

S.—'After all these years I may fairly say that no one has really disputed the wisdom of what I did.'

Benson, the future Archbishop of Canterbury, was appointed by the Queen to the Bishopric of Truro, having been recommended by Mr. Disraeli on my father's advice. The letter announcing the appointment is couched in the terms 'You have made a Bishop.' Parliament was opened on February 8 by the Queen in person.

D. February 9.—'The Queen seems to have been

very well received *en route* to and from the House, in spite of the low scurrility sold in the streets. I walked to the House, but on the way to the Lords, when Disraeli was swept away by the ungentlemanly rush of Members, I declined to fight for a place, and left with him. Ridley, and Mulholland (the mover and seconder of the Address), did their parts well. Hartington's criticism was practically Granville's, but very heavy to listen to. Disraeli replied well, and to my mind satisfactorily. Slavery and Suez are the cries, but the latter will soon die.'

D. February 16.—'Disraeli asked me to speak for the Government on the Slavery debate. I shall have to learn much in little time.'

D. February 23.—'I wound up the Slavery debate last night with much kind approval from my friends, and with a very good hearing from the House. I had made perhaps too copious notes of Whitbread's and Forster's speeches. I am glad to have it over, and feel how much I left undone as it recurs to my mind.'

D. March 17.—'We smote them hip and thigh last night on the Queen's Titles Bill. A vast majority on the attempt to adjourn, and a large, though less, one on the main question. I thought their arguments feeble; Northcote, Roebuck, Hamilton, were good. Harcourt, mouthing his "sesquipedalia verba," and courting cheers for well-turned periods written down, was not argumentative at all. Hartington's "We cannot forget," and then forgetting, was curious!'

D. March 21.—'Queen's Title in the evening lasted long, but, in spite of Gladstone's petulant and vehemently exaggerated verbiage, the Bill went through Committee without amendment.'

D. April 4.—'The Lords gave a majority of 46 for

the Titles Bill, but there is apathy about it, and indeed the subject can hardly kindle enthusiasm. Another fortnight, and I hope all will have subsided. We had the Budget, which was fairly well received, and Merchant Shipping, which hung as usual.'

D. April 6.—'At the War Office I had a long interview with Captain Burnaby, who gave me an account of his enterprising journey to Khiva. He has seen and heard much, and is very apprehensive that we shall stir too late against Russia. His account was very interesting, and he is clearly a man of resource, a great linguist, and with plenty of boldness.'

He left for his Easter holidays at Hemsted on April 8 after a Cabinet which lasted till 3. 'It is amusing,' he notes, 'to see newspaper accounts of our disagreements at such meetings, and think of our constant concord.' The harmony was not destined to prove eternal! There is next a curious record of the vagaries of the weather.

D. April 12.—'Again winter in its worst form, all covered with snow, which is steadily falling. The unhappy lambs basking in a summer sun on Saturday, nearly blown away on Sunday, drowned on Monday, half frozen in the biting wind of yesterday, and now shivering in the snow! Surely such a season of successive winters was hardly ever known; this, which I trust is the last, comes appropriately with the blackthorn.'

He visited his constituents just before returning to town, and took part in the great gathering at Keble College, where the first stone of the Library and Hall was laid.

D. April 25.—'Christ Church Deanery. Yesterday put in an appearance at the Keble Council. Dined in Keble

Hall with some 300. No speeches happily. Up at 6, and at the early service at Keble in the glorious Chapel at 7.30. Since then the 11.30 and 5 P.M. services, with an interlude of lunch and laying the first stone of Library and Hall, where I had to say something. I excelled at least in brevity! In the Chapel I read the Second Lesson. All was conducted admirably. The early Communion very impressive, and a great success may be recorded. The offertory large also, which is a test of success. Pusey was not heard by us in the morning and had a terrible cough. Liddon was unreasonably long on Keble's character, and we heard rather indistinctly. We were late at the Vice-Chancellor's dinner, but did not delay it more than others. He had a great gathering in the Hall, from which we have just returned, 11 P.M. A long day.'

D. May 5.—'A note from Disraeli asking me to answer Henry James, who fulfilled his expectation by giving notice last night of a vote of censure couched in singular terms, a small issue for so great an object.'

Disraeli to Hardy, May 3, 1876.

'MY DEAR HARDY

'I missed you after the division, tho' I sent Mercury, in the shape of Geordie Hamilton, after you.

'The notice is to be given to-morrow, and by Sir Henry James: a vote of censure on the proclamation, which I shall also accept as a vote of want of confidence.

'He will do the best for his friends, no doubt, and we know exactly what he will do. He is one of their best speakers, and well trained. My experience—of forty years now—teaches me that on occasions like the impending one, there is nothing like the first effect, and therefore you, who

are our best speaker, and never happier than when you make a party speech, should follow Sir Henry.

'I lay great stress on this, and even hope that under such circumstances the affair will be confined to one night. I propose to give them to-morrow night, you will have a great occasion, you will be, as you always are, equal to it. I am looking after speakers of note and character to sustain the debate. There will be no lack of such, especially if they have the advantage of hearing you.'

D. May 6.—'A Cabinet at 12. Since at the War Office, and having a talk with the Chancellor on the Censure motion. Wolfe tells me that Sir Henry James takes it reluctantly, and the policy seems suicidal. He says: "He will not impute bad faith to the Government." What does it mean then?'

The notice, looking back on it now, does seem to have afforded very slender ground for a vote of censure:

'That having regard to the declarations made by Her Majesty's Ministers during the progress of the Royal Titles Act through Parliament, this House is of opinion that the Proclamation issued by virtue of the Act does not make adequate provision for preventing and restraining the use of the title of Empress in relation to the internal affairs of Her Majesty's Dominions other than India.'

D. May 11.—'Our debate came on at once. I followed James, who made a somewhat *nisi prius* speech, and at the end used the word "repudiating" in one House what our colleagues had promised in another. This was a strong charge, and justified I think a strong answer, and I hope I was not too strong. Perhaps the word "venom," which alone Childers commented on, was so, but I hardly think it.

James, in withdrawing when I sat down the word "repudiating," said it justified the meaning put upon it. A discussion involving references to newspaper reports of speeches in Lords and Commons was not lively, and in some respects most irregular. It came to a close with a triumphant vote in our favour, 334 to 226.'

The whole affair was rather a storm in a tea-cup. Looking back it is difficult to realise the heat and party rancour raised by a change which has certainly been appreciated in India, and done no possible harm elsewhere. 'Labelled for external application only' was Lord Rosebery's humorous description of the new title, but when it was proclaimed in London and Edinburgh it was found to contain no such limitation, and an angry debate was again raised in the Commons ('Political History of England,' Low and Sanders, p. 279). There was some effective chaff in Gathorne Hardy's speech :

'Was it ever suggested before that we should go through the files of newspapers to see what the charge against the Government was, and that we should look for this needle in a bundle of hay, though when it was found it would prove to be nothing so valuable as a needle, but only a poisoned pin?' The objection was 'as unsubstantial and unreal as any phantom that has ever been conjured up in a spirit séance. I suppose hon. members really fear it, but to me it is an extraordinary fact that this hallucination is confined to members of the Liberal party. There is a sort of union, the table turns as they put all their hands upon it, and then the phantom is conjured up amongst them.'

The Eastern Question had now become acute. There had been an outburst of Mohammedan fanaticism on May 5 at Salonica, when the French and German Consuls were murdered, and a rising in Constantinople. A memorandum

was issued from Berlin on May 11 by Germany, Austria, and Russia 'recapitulating the dangers of the situation, and the grievances of Bosnia and Herzegovina in strenuous language, and stating that the three Imperial Courts proposed to insist on an armistice for three months, with "efficacious measures" as an ultimate resort if peace had not then been attained' (Low and Sanders, p. 282). The Government declined their adherence.

D. May 17.—'I was at the Cabinet at 1. An important one it was, for discussing the question of our adhesion to the new note of the three Powers. It is rather cool to ask it by telegraph, as if they were to discuss and decide, and we only assent. To us the propositions seem impracticable in some particulars, and unfair in others, and behind all we see "mesures efficaces" which may mean armed intervention. We shall therefore, while aiming at an armistice, not adhere. Disraeli read a carefully prepared paper much to the effect of what Bourke had said to me, which I thought very good sense.'

D. May 23.—'A short but important Cabinet on Eastern matters and the need for a strong force in the Mediterranean, for which we made provision. I cannot think the five Powers are combined so as to act very heartily together, but contingencies of vast moment may at any time arise, and Turkey is apparently *in extremis*.'

D. May 25.—'Our Cabinet was held at Disraeli's house, he was weak but free from pain, and fully alive to the work. He is much occupied with this Eastern Question and we determined to strengthen our fleet in the Mediterranean.'

D. May 31.—'Derby Day. Yesterday the great news was the abdication or deposition of the Sultan Abdul, and

the accession of Murad Effendi. Particulars not known. The funds rose, as did Turkish and Russian. Such is the vague hope of something coming from the unknown.'

D. June 5.—'The papers tell of Abdul's death. Suicide? I thought it would come.'

D. June 9.—'Derby gets much credit, but he has needed pressure. Disraeli has really been the mainspring.'

D. June 16.—'Let me express my thankfulness that I sit down sound in limb and head. Yesterday my horse came heavily down on Constitution Hill as I was trotting on my way to the War Office. I came off, but so near the ground that I did not hurt myself, nor did he, although he rolled somewhat upon my left leg, do it any harm. Among the many severe accidents of this nature, mine has indeed been a slight one to myself, though I fear the horse has suffered a good deal.'

D. June 20.—'I spoke on the Education debate before dinner, and with great satisfaction to my friends, and Disraeli said "in my happiest vein." I saw that the House listened well, but at the end felt that much that might have impressed it more was left unsaid. Being free I dined for the first time this year at Grillion's, where a large party (24 I think) were assembled to meet Northbrook. Rather hot! Too large for easy talk. Our divisions were most triumphant and ought to ensure the passing of the Bill.'

D. July 1.—'At the House Smyth's reply to Butt on Home Rule was the striking thing. It was a speech finished in language, and as demolishing Home Rule complete in argument.'

D. July 10.—'At the Cabinet to-day I hope we secured early progress, Eastern affairs are more promising, as *all* are desirous of peace except Servia and the insurgents, who are mainly Montenegrins.'

D. July 20.—‘A most satisfactory inspection yesterday, and the 3½ hours on horseback in that light bracing air did me good, though it tanned my face. The Reserve men were admirable, and filled up the weak battalions as if they belonged to them. The report of them from all quarters was excellent.’

The Eastern Question was now daily becoming more troublesome, and there was certainly much reason for the plea that the time was one at which it was almost impossible to change the Secretary of State for War. The Government to a man earnestly desired peace, and Disraeli in his last speech in the House of Commons was careful to emphasise that there was no evidence whatever for the assumption that Turkey should be upheld in any enormity that it might commit. The Diary from this point is full of references to the Eastern Question, and with the correspondence shows the consistent efforts of the Ministry to put any pressure on Turkey short of armed intervention. The letter of Lord Derby quoted below refers to the Servian appeal for mediation. The difficulties of the Government were greatly enhanced by the agitation promoted by Mr. Gladstone.

D. August 29.—‘My bag has brought much correspondence. A violent letter from the Revd. — on Eastern affairs, and it is clear that the Liberals are trying to work up a great excitement on the massacres, which are indeed of a most horrible character. The request for mediation, accepted, as Lord Derby tells me, by all the Powers without exception, ought to lead to some conclusion, and he is sanguine that it will. He says that “he is taking all means to make the Turks understand the necessity of peace for them,” and I think that he is right in believing that if failure ensue Russia will be compelled by her Slav population

to interfere actively. "On the whole I am hopeful" he ends his note, which I drew forth by asking for information. The terms ought to be such as the Powers will have a claim to compel adherence to, and protection to the Christians should be in some way secured.'

Lord Derby to Hardy, August 28.

'DEAR HARDY

'The Servians, as you know, have appealed to the Powers. All the Powers are disposed to mediate, without exception, as far as I can make out, but the question of terms, which involves the real difficulty, has not been touched. I am taking all means to make the Turks understand the necessity of peace for them, and I think it may be done, but they are a thickwitted race. If these negotiations fail the Czar will be almost forced into the field. Prince Milan and the Montenegro men neither of them love the smell of powder, and will be heartily glad to end the affair with whole skins. All the Servians, though hating the Turks, yet feel that they can only fight successfully under Russian direction, an alternative to peace which has its obvious inconveniences. On the whole I am hopeful.

'V. trly yrs

'DERBY.'

In the next two extracts the writer is commenting on Gladstone's pamphlet 'Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East,' just published.

D. September 7.—'The fleet going to Besika Bay is assumed to have been the *causa causans* of the atrocities! If it were, it went with the assent of all England and the admiration of all Europe, but is such a supposition tenable?

The cruelties were in the main the result of panic, as cruelties often are, and if the fleet gave courage the effect might have been opposite, but in fact the two events had nothing to do with one another, and no honest mind believes the contrary. Our Ambassador did not realise to the full extent, but he constantly and emphatically remonstrated against what he believed was much less flagrant, and his ignorance of details was shared by all his colleagues, as I believe, without exception. Gladstone's pamphlet is out and the extracts are violent enough, but one must see it as a whole. He is good enough to acquit us of actual wilful complicity with crime, but—'

D. September 9.—'Having now read it all, I think that its assumptions as to what has happened are outrageous, and its assumptions as to the harmony of all the Powers in the future untenable. "Prince Gortchakov warns the Ambassadors not to force him to take up the pen." Germany expresses no opinion and "not ready" to do so. Andrassy declines a collective note, and has clearly views of his own. Since these things the battle of Alexinatz has taken place, and events may be occurring of which the newspapers do not yet give indications. Gladstone is to speak at Greenwich this afternoon, so we shall have his fuller views, which I expect will be dangerous enough, and as embarrassing to us as he can make them.'

Gladstone's speech at Blackheath did not belie the writer's prophecy. He excelled himself in inflammatory eloquence. It was to this harangue that Lord Beaconsfield referred when he called him in his speech at Aylesbury 'a designing politician, taking advantage of a moment of enthusiasm to further his own sinister ends.'

D. September 8.—'A long letter from Bourke (the
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Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs) which, with the telegrams enclosed, discloses the very great gravity of the situation. . . He does not understand why Baring's report is not yet published, and we are equally ignorant. I have called Cairns's attention to our want of knowledge some time back, and have written to Carnarvon, but I hope that Derby may to-day make a satisfactory statement to the deputation which he is to receive. The Greenwich speech will be in his hands. I shall not see it till mid-day.'

About this time two letters from Lord Cairns express his views as to the way in which the difficulties of the country were increased and the hands of the Government weakened by the Gladstonian agitation.

Cairns to Hardy, September 16.

'I entirely share your anxiety and uneasiness about the East. As to knowing what are Derby's views and intentions I fear there is little to know. All seems to me to be negative, like his speech, which was good as far as it went, but sadly deficient in sentiment or suggestion. I was in London on business on Thursday and went to the Foreign Office. No one was there but Lister, who knew nothing, but said that Baring's report had just come, very able, he said: showing that there was much untruth and exaggeration in Schuyler and other reporters, but many things as bad as could be. It will now I suppose be sent to the papers, but what are we doing or going to do? I have said to Northcote and Carnarvon (writing on other matters) and I am saying to B. (Beaconsfield) to-day that if we are taking any distinct step, or if we do not take any distinct step, I think the Cabinet should meet, however inconvenient it would be. Gladstone and Lowe are atrocious in the things

they propose, which they must know could not be done and which they in our places would not do. And all this row at home paralyses us at Constantinople, and leaves Russia mistress of the situation. It seems to me most gloomy and difficult. My idea is that we (with the other Powers) should force Turkey to a reasonable peace with all the existing combatants, and then have a conference at which the Powers that now guarantee Turkey might guarantee a system of autonomous provinces. But all this needs talking over.'

Cairns to Hardy, September 27.

'Things in the East look better, and I suppose they would run easy enough were it not that this outburst of Gladstonian virulence and folly has put the backs of the Servians up and made them impracticable.'

D. *September 18.*—'Bourke sends me satisfactory telegrams. The Porte has ordered a suspension of hostilities, submits its conditions "entirely to the judgment and equitable appreciation of the mediating Powers."'

'On the same day Servia was expressing its desire for speedy peace to save the country from desolation. But most important is the acceptance by Russia of Lord Derby's proposals (for a conference at Constantinople). The Sultan consulted Sir Henry Elliot secretly for his advice previous to the final decision, and he advised him "that the only course he could adopt with safety was to place himself without any reserve whatever in the hands of the mediating Powers. If this were done Her Majesty's Government would be able to exercise a salutary influence in the decisions to be come to, but in the contrary case they would

be powerless to prevent consequences which might be fatal to the Empire." I hope and trust that peace may ensue, and good government may be secured to the provinces.'

The next entry shows clouds rising in another quarter.

D. September 21.—'Carnarvon sent a message late in the evening to ask for instructions to reinforce the Cape before to-morrow. I had directed preparations, and hope that, if commenced forthwith, the need for war will not arise. C. thinks not. Baring's report was out yesterday. It is calmer, but in substance admits the atrocities. No one doubts them, or objects to the indignation, but only to the base uses made of it. I shall look with anxiety for Beaconsfield's speech at Aylesbury, and hope it will clear up all for the election to-day (Bucks), on the probabilities of which I have heard nothing but cannot expect defeat.'

There is a letter from Lord Beaconsfield, written from Hughenden on September 30, in which he expresses his opinion of the agitation and its effects. It is marked 'Most confidential,' underlined.

'Derby has shown great energy and resource during these painful six weeks. I always gave him credit for a clear head—the clearest—and a fine deep judgment, but I never, though I have ever greatly appreciated him, gave him before the credit I do now, for such vigour, action, fertility. Nevertheless all these great qualities, I fear, are wasted. We have been stabbed in the back, and the arts of faction, I think the very lowest arts of faction, abusing the noble enthusiasm of a great portion of the people, have endangered, and more than that, our highest national interests and European peace. I shall be glad if Turkey accepts the propositions, but I doubt it. It will be difficult

for Russia then not to stop the Servian conspiracy, carried on entirely now by Russian men and Russian money. But if Turkey refuses, Austria will invade Bosnia &c. and Russia Bulgaria, and propose that the united fleets should proceed to Constantinople. I can hardly think that we could agree to the last, but the war, I apprehend, will commence. This is my thought and I wish you gravely to consider it. I have not mentioned it even to Derby, with whom of course I am in frequent, I should say daily and hourly, communication.

'I would not intervene in the war, but watch it—but, with the consent of course of the Porte, I would occupy Constantinople till the termination of the war as a "material guarantee"—a Russian phrase and now accepted. On the water side all is easy, but how about the land side? You must have in your archives at the War Office large materials on this matter, probably all-sufficient. What are the fortifications there? what force required to hold them and others that might be erected? I should think 40,000 men would do. Surely we could manage that, notwithstanding the *furor* of the movement. I believe we should have all England with us in the move, and I believe also it would make the war or occupation a short one.'

D. October 5.—'Yesterday the Cabinet met in its full numbers, all looking well after their varied long journeys. Salisbury from Dieppe, Hunt from Plymouth, John Manners, Richmond, and Cairns from different parts of Scotland. Disraeli put the case before us clearly and was followed by Derby. The treachery and falsehood of Russian agents has been almost incredible. Their last move, affecting to favour peace, while secretly rendering it impossible, has been of the basest, but all founded on the hope that England would

bear anything. On Gladstone and others rests the bloodshed. We came to an agreement, as the Porte had declined our terms though assented to by all the Powers, to offer it an ultimatum and then let Sir Henry Elliot retire.'

D. October 20.—'Our Cabinet was fully attended. It is clear that we can do no good by attempting further negotiations. Russia has been utterly false. Germany will not, Italy does not, oppose, and no one is hearty. So now for the next act in the great tragedy she has been preparing. Our course has hardly yet become clear, but we have laid down certain lines in case of certain circumstances occurring. At the War Office I was busy receiving information, and must get more.'

A letter to Lord Beaconsfield dated October 19 gives him significant information on various points obtained from the Intelligence Department.

D. October 24.—'I had a most gloomy day for my visit to London, fog and rain there, though it was dry here. After some work and consultation with the Quartermaster-General, McDougal, and Home, at the War Office, saw Beaconsfield and was with him a long time. We discussed eventualities and came to some conclusions; to send officers to survey the ground behind Constantinople and to look forward to guarding it in case of need. B.'s account of the feelings of Austria &c. differed much from that of the Press. He said Russia was the isolated power. Derby came in, and told us that the Porte had accepted a 6 weeks' armistice, to which Elliot on his own account seems to have persuaded them. I presume that Russia cannot throw over these terms; we shall see. In the meantime the Turks have had a considerable success in Servia.'

D. November 8.—‘Salisbury’s nomination to Constantinople is generally approved in all the papers.’

Even Mr. Gladstone was for once satisfied with this appointment. His opinion is quoted in Morley’s ‘Gladstone’ (vol. ii. p. 560) :

‘He has little foreign or Eastern knowledge, and little craft. He is rough of tongue in public debate, but a great gentleman in private society; he is very remarkably clever, of unsure judgment, but is above anything mean, has no Disraelite prejudices, keeps a conscience, and has plenty of manhood and character. In a word, the appointment of Lord Salisbury to Constantinople is the best thing the Government have yet done in the Eastern Question.’

It is no disparagement of Mr. Gladstone’s great abilities to hint that Lord Salisbury’s foreign and Eastern knowledge more than equalled his own. He went to Constantinople with no prejudices in favour of the Porte, and an anxious desire to secure peace, and good treatment and protection for the Christians in Turkey. He had certainly shown no ‘Disraelite prejudice’ in the past, and his steadfast support of the Eastern policy of his leader from this period onwards was a priceless asset in the difficulties which beset the Cabinet. My father was present at the Guildhall banquet, where Lord Beaconsfield made his famous speech on England’s resources, ‘that her policy was peace, but her resources if she entered into a righteous war inexhaustible.’ (Morley’s ‘Gladstone,’ ii. 558.) He does not comment on the speech.

D. November 10.—‘All went off well. Both Beaconsfield and Derby had enthusiastic receptions. My little speech produced a note from Carnarvon. “Excellent speech—perfect in all its parts—I admired.” So much for the art of saying nothing.’

D. November 15.—‘A speech of the Czar: rather threatening, followed by practical mobilisation of the Russian Army; alarm naturally follows, and funds and stocks fall. Turkey has not yet accepted, so complications may be imminent, but I do not give up hope. My position is difficult, as I cannot make any great move without leading to misconception.’

D. November 19.—‘The Cabinet was lively and wisely argumentative. We were agreed fully on the instructions, and, I think, shall be on the “beyond,” which is after all the difficulty.’

D. November 23.—‘Derby seems to think that affairs look black, and with all her Emperor’s professions Russia cannot be trusted. Her speech may be peaceable, her acts are warlike. We had a quiet Cabinet, as Derby produced a satisfactory pendant to the Salisbury instructions.’

D. November 27.—‘I get no foreign news, which I think is wrong, and mean to inquire into. There is evidently going to be a new agitation on Eastern affairs, and we should at least know where we are going.’

An important interview with Disraeli took place the next day. A separate memorandum of the conversation was made at the time and preserved. It runs as follows:

Memo. ‘B. called and sat a long time. 1st as to the Bishop of Truro. . . After this came Eastern affairs. No news yet from Salisbury, so that I am not behind. B. thinks that although the other Powers may talk in favour of less stringent measures, if Russia demands occupation it will be yielded. The game is between S. and Ignatieff and B. thinks that if they cannot agree, I. [Ignatieff] will make his demands, and that they will be acceded to. He then throws out for consideration our course. He would,

on the application of the Porte, send up the fleet, but would not assent to send it at the instance of the Powers or Russia, as some quarrel would be got up, and it used to destroy the Turkish fleet and to play into Russian hands. Then he would occupy the lines behind Constantinople and at Gallipoli, but whether at the crossing of the Pruth or later—he inclines to the former. He says that although partition has not been intended it will come, and in that case offers will be made to us. Constantinople not likely to be offered, nor would it be desirable to accept. He would like to buy a port in the Black Sea from the Porte, as Batoum (it is far away and I told him would fall into Russian hands on breaking out of war) or Sinope (that is but a roadstead). I mentioned Varna, but with no real expectation of it, but of course it presents advantages which the others would not give. He said Egypt would be offered as before, but he did not see what we should gain. I suggested Crete, and said that no doubt Egypt could be made a great country in good hands (I only spoke to bring out fully his meaning). What he wants is a Malta or Gibraltar which would prevent the Black Sea being a constant threat to our maritime power in the Mediterranean. He is clearly full of anxiety for the future, but thinks that nothing can occur before mid-January at all events. He spoke of Russian intrigues at Cabul: while the Czar makes his professions, a Russian agent on the spot negotiating for an attack on Merv (this he seemed to doubt). He went through the episode of Derby's indignation at Carnarvon's entertaining Liddon after his sermon (adding "as to the attack said to have been made on me, I give you my honour I have not even seen or read it, but Derby is not used to attacks"). Derby's astonishment and apprehension that the Chancellor should take up the Greek Church with Carnarvon, his interview

with Salisbury, who was firm and resolute against such notions. Since then he had seen both Carnarvon, who behaved very well, and the Chancellor, and thought the Cabinet very sound now. Much more said in our long talk, but I hastily jot down these things for future consideration. I told him of satisfactory recruiting, &c. but that I could not move much without money and Parliament.'

On the 29th he writes to Lord Salisbury at Constantinople. I omit the commencement of the letter, which refers to the composition of the University Commission. He proceeds:

'I am sorry to trouble you with this matter, but perhaps a distraction may not come amiss to a mind bent upon one subject. I will not write to you on that; the less, that I have not heard one word of your proceedings at the various Courts, and, though Lord Beaconsfield was with me yesterday, he was not then in a better position. I hope Derby will not "let us burst in ignorance," but at least furnish us with knowledge enough to enable us to form and justify opinions. The proposed conference at home seems to me thoroughly unpatriotic, and its proceedings and published resolutions may do much to complicate our position. Spurgeon's prayers against "our extraordinary folly" have too much of the comic element not to be very amusing. I hear that pressing invitations have been sent to the leading radicals in boroughs to attend the meeting and give it an all-England appearance. Derby has just sent me a private letter which shows that Russia pushes on her preparations with increased vigour. He expresses no opinion himself. The letter is from Berdiansk. Wishing you success in maintaining peace, notwithstanding the

very adverse circumstances, and with complete trust in your ability to do all that is possible,

‘ Believe me,

‘ Yours very sincerely,

‘ GATHORNE HARDY.’

The answer is as follows :

Salisbury to Hardy, December 14.

‘ I hope by this time Derby has given you full information as to my proceedings. We are tolerably harmonious, and, if I can get the Cabinet to take my view, I think peace is probable. The arrangement we are approaching is an “autonomy” in which the Porte preserves the right of appointing Governors and Judges with consent of Ambassadors—said Governors to be irremovable for five years, together with indirect taxes, surplus of direct taxes, occupation of fortresses by its own troops, and right of passing general laws. Beyond this there will be local self-government, with local militia and police, and right of distributing the burden of direct taxes: an international commission for one year to supervise the introduction of reforms, and a small force of Belgians to protect them from violence, and ensure compliance with their decision. I have asked Derby for the opinion of the Cabinet on this last, for it is outside my instructions. But I recommend it, for I much doubt if we shall get peace without it, and I do not see (except that it will offend the Turks) that it will or can do the slightest harm. As strong Catholics the Belgians will be rather grateful to the Turks than otherwise, and certainly rather partial to them, and there can be no question of any kind of political danger arising from their presence.

‘ However, for good or bad, it will probably be all settled before you get this.

‘ Ever yours most truly,

‘ SALISBURY.

‘ CONSTANTINOPLE.’

D. December 19.—‘ A Cabinet at 3 on Salisbury’s telegrams. We accepted the scheme in principle, leaving detail as is necessary to be settled by him. The Belgian Gendarmerie proposed we did not resist, but will Belgium give, or Turkey receive? Derby thinks the proposal a trap, and I must say that my hopes of a peaceful solution are much dashed by what I hear.’

It need hardly be said that the uncertainty of the position, and the necessity for making preparations for any possible result without needless alarm, imposed a heavy burden upon the Minister responsible for War. The correspondence is very bulky, but a single letter to Lord Beaconsfield is inserted to give an idea of the whole.

Hardy to Beaconsfield. December 6.

‘ I go on obtaining what I can of interest from different sources, and intend to lay what I collect before you when ready. There are, however, many difficulties occurring. The Engineers in Turkey want more help—many expensive things preparing here—a further Commission to examine the Turkish fortresses. The demands for men and material for the suggested works to defend Constantinople grow. More guns of heavier calibre—50 per cent. more men—a railway for stores—telegraph lines, and telegraph wire to make “entanglements” in front of the forts. It is rather embarrassing for me, as I can only defer consideration, not having it in my power to decide such questions now. We must

assume at present that peace may be preserved, and we are a long way from seeing that we are to have a place in any war.'

D. December 23.—'Our Cabinet discussion was more thorough than on some occasions, but our unanimous decision was strong moral pressure. No coercion by arms no assistance in case of war. Salisbury to return at once. Sir Henry Elliot to come home to report, but not an absolute withdrawal of embassy. They talked of his asking leave, but I did not think that a straight course, and all came to my view. I doubt whether Turkey will consent to the foreign force in any shape, and it is not clear that one could be found.'

D. Christmas Day.—'I cannot help thinking of yesterday's conference and wondering. All I hear is of Russian preparation in Asia and Europe, and I cannot but feel that Turkey can hardly be expected to see things as the Powers do.'

'Not much of a holiday,' he writes, although surrounded with his family to the third generation—'17 in the nurseries with nurses.' So the year closed in gloom abroad, of which the season at home was typical. The last entry for the year records this:

D. December 31.—'Certainly this December will remain on record as the stormiest and wettest in one's recollection.'

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